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VOYAGES

OF

PETER ESPRIT RADISSON,

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS AND EXPERIENCES AMONG
THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, FROM
1652 TO 1684.

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WITH HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

AND AN

INTRODUCTION,

BY GIDEON D. SCULL,
LONDON, ENGLAND.

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PREFACE.

IT may be regarded as a fortunate circumſtance that we are able to add to the Society's publications this volume of RADISSON'S VOYAGES. The narratives contained in it are the record of events and tranſactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and truſtworthy. They have remained in manuſcript more than two hundred years, and in the mean time appear to have eſcaped the notice of ſcholars, as not even extracts from them have, ſo far as we are aware, found their way into print. The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the Engliſh language. The journals, with the exception of the laſt in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the uſe of words, and in the ſtructure of ſentences, conform to no known ſtandard of Engliſh compoſition. But the meaning is in all caſes clearly conveyed, and,

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and, in juſtice both to the author and the reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim*, as in the original manuſcripts. We deſire to place upon record our high appreciation of the courteſy extended to the Editor of this volume by the governors of the Bodleian Library and of the Britiſh Muſeum, in allowing him to copy the original manuſcripts in their poſſeſſion. Our thanks likewiſe are here tendered to Mr. Edward Denham for the gratuitous contribution of the excellent index which accompanies the volume.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,
Preſident of the Prince Society.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
November 20, 1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the narratives contained in this volume was Peter Eſprit Radiſſon, who emigrated from France to Canada, as he himſelf tells us, on the 24th day of May, 1651. He was born at St. Malo, and in 1656, at Three Rivers, in Canada, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Madeleine Hainault.[1] Radiſſon ſays that he lived at Three Rivers, where alſo dwelt "my natural parents, and country-people, and my brother, his wife and children."[2] This brother, often alluded to in Radiſſon's narratives as his companion on his journeys, was Médard Chouart, "who was the ſon of Médard and Marie Poirier, of Charly St. Cyr, France, and in 1641, when only ſixteen years old, came to Canada."[a] He was a pilot, and married, 3d September, 1647, Helen, the daughter of Abraham Martin, and widow of Claude Étienne. Abraham Martin left his name to the celebrated Plains of Abraham, near Quebec. She dying in 1651, Chouart married, ſecondly, at Quebec, Auguſt 23, 1653, the ſiſter of Radiſſon, Margaret Hayet, the widow of John Veron Grandménil. In Canada, Chouart acted as a donné, or lay aſſiſtant, in the Jeſuit miſſion near Lake Huron. He left the ſervice of the miſſion about 1646, and commenced trading with the Indians for furs, in which he was very ſuccesſful. With his gains he is ſuppoſed to have purchaſed ſome land in Canada, as he aſſumed the ſeigneurial title of "Sieur des Groſeilliers."

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[1] Vide *Hiſtory of the Ojibways*, by the Rev. E. D. Neill, ed. 1885.

[2] The Abbé Cyprian Tanguay, the beſt genealogical authority in Canada, gives the following account of the family: Françoiſe Radiſſon, a daughter of Pierre Eſprit, married at Quebec, in 1668, Claude Volant de St. Claude, born in 1636, and had eight children. Pierre and Claude, eldeſt ſons, became prieſts. Françoiſe died in infancy; Marguerite married Noel le Gardeur; Françoiſe died in infancy; Étienne, born October 29, 1664, married in 1693 at Sorel, but ſeems to have had no iſſue. Jean François married Marguerite Godfrey at Montreal in 1701. Nicholas, born in 1668, married Genevieve Niel, July 30, 1696, and both died in 1703, leaving two of their five ſons ſurviving.

There are deſcendants of Noel le Gardeur who claim Radiſſon as their anceſtor, and alſo deſcendants of Claude Volant, apparently through Nicholas. Among theſe deſcendants of the Volant family is the Rt. Rev. Joſeph Thomas Duhamel, who was conſecrated Bishop of Ottawa, Canada, October 28, 1874.

Of Médard Chouart's deſcendants, no account of any of the progeny of his ſon Jean Baptiſte, born July 25, 1654, can be found.

Radiſſon ſpent more than ten years trading with the Indians of Canada and the far Weſt, making long and perilous journeys of from two to three years each, in company with his brother-in-law, Des Groſeilliers. He carefully made notes during his wanderings from 1652 to 1664, which he afterwards copied out on his voyage to England in 1665. Between theſe years he made four journeys, and heads his firſt narrative with this title: "The Relation of my Voyage, being in Bondage in the Lands of the Irokoits, w^{ch} was the next year after my coming into Canada, in the yeare 1651, the 24th day of May." In 1652 a roving band of Iroquois, who had gone as far north as the Three Rivers, carried our author as a captive into their country, on the banks of the Mohawk River. He was adopted into the family of a "great captayne who had killed nineteen men with his own hands, whereof he was marked on his right thigh for as many as he had killed." In the autumn of 1653 he accompanied the tribe in his village on a warlike incurſion into the Dutch territory. They arrived "the next day in a ſmall brough of the Hollanders," Renſſelaerſwyck, and on the fourth day came to Fort Orange. Here they remained ſeveral days, and Radiſſon ſays: "Our treaty's being done, overladened wth bootyes abundantly, we putt ourſelves in the way that we came, to ſee again our village."

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[a] Chouart's daughter Marie Antoinette, born June 7, 1661, married firſt Jean Jalot in 1679. He was a ſurgeon, born in 1648, and killed by the Iroquois, July 2, 1690. He was called Des Groſeilliers. She had nine children by Jalot, and there are deſcendants from them in Canada. On the 19th December, 1695, ſhe married, ſecondly, Jean Bouchard, by whom ſhe had ſix children. The Bouchard-Dorval family of Montreal deſcends from this marriage. Vide *Genealogical Dictionary of Canadian Families*, Quebec, 1881.

At Fort Orange Radiſſon met with the Jeſuit Father, Joſeph Noncet, who had alſo been captured in Canada by the Mohawks and taken to their country. In September he was taken down to Fort Orange by his captors, and it is mentioned in the Jeſuit "Relations" of 1653, chapter iv., that he "found there a young man captured near Three Rivers, who had been ranſomed by the Dutch and acted as interpreter." A few weeks after the return of the Indians to their village, Radiſſon made his eſcape alone, and found his way again to Fort Orange, from whence he was ſent to New Amſterdam, or Menada, as he calls it. Here he remained three weeks, and then embarked for Holland, where he arrived after a ſix weeks' voyage, landing at Amſterdam "the 4/7 of January, 1654. A few days after," he ſays, "I imbarqued myſelf for France, and came to Rochelle well and ſafe." He remained until ſpring, waiting for "yᵉ tranſport of a ſhipp for New France."

The relation of the ſecond journey is entitled, "The Second Voyage, made in the Upper Country of the Irokoits." He landed in Canada, from his return voyage from France, on the 17th of May, 1654, and on the 15th ſet off to ſee his relatives at Three Rivers. He mentions that "in my abſence peace was made betweene the French and yᵉ Iroquoits, which was yᵉ reſon I ſtayed not long in a place. The yeare before the ffrench began a new plantation in the upper country of yᵉ Iroquoits, which is diſtant from the Low Iroquoits country ſome four ſcore leagues, wher I was priſoner and been in the warrs of that country. . . . At that very time the Reverend Fathers Jeſuits embarked themſelves for a ſecond time to dwell there and teach Chriſtian doctrine. I offered myſelf to them and was, as their cuſtome is, kindly accepted. I prepare meſelfe for the journey, which was to be in June, 1657." Charlevoix[4] ſays: "In 1651 occurred the almoſt complete deſtruction of the Huron nation. Peace was concluded in 1653. Father Le Moyne went in 1654, to ratify the treaty of peace, to Onondaga, and told the Indians there he wiſhed to have his cabin in their canton. His offer was accepted, and a ſite marked out of which he took poſſeſſion. He left Quebec July 2, 1654, and returned September 11. In 1655 Fathers Chaumont and Dablon were ſent to Onondaga, and arrived there November 5, and began at once to build a chapel.[5]

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[4] *Charlevoix's History of New France*, Shea's ed., Vol. II. p. 256.

"Father Dablon, having ſpent ſome months in the ſervice of the miſſion at Onondaga, was ſent back to Montreal, 30 March, 1656, for reinforcements. He returned with Father Francis le Mercier and other help. They ſet out from Quebec 7 May, 1656, with a force compoſed of four nations: French, Onondagas, Senecas, and a few Hurons. About fifty men compoſed the party. Sieur Dupuys, an officer of the garriſon, was appointed commandant of the propoſed ſettlement at Onondaga. On their arrival they at once proceeded to erect a fort, or block-houſe, for their defence.

"While theſe things were paſſing at Onondaga, the Hurons on the Iſle Orleans, where they had taken refuge from the Iroquois, no longer deeming themſelves ſecure, ſought an aſylum in Quebec, and in a moment of reſentment at having been abandoned by the French, they ſent ſecretly to propoſe to the Mohawks to receive them into their canton ſo as to form only one people with them. They had no ſooner taken this ſtep than they repented; but the Mohawks took them at their word, and ſeeing that they endeavored to withdraw their propoſition, reſorted to ſecret meaſures to compel them to adhere to it."[6] The different families of the Hurons held a council, and "the Attignenonhac or Cord family reſolved to ſtay with the French; the Arendarrhonon, or Rock, to go to Onondaga; and the Attignaonanton, or Bear, to join the Mohawks."[7] "In 1657 Onondagas had arrived at Montreal to receive the Hurons and take them to their canton, as agreed upon the year previous."[8] Some Frenchmen and two Jeſuits were to accompany them. One of the former was Radiſſon, who had volunteered; and the two Jeſuits were Fathers Paul Ragueneau and Joſeph Inbert Duperon. The party ſtarted on their journey in July, 1657.

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[5] *Charlevoix's Hiſt. of New France*, Shea's ed., Vol. II. p. 263.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 278.

[7] *Relation Nouvelle France*, 1657, and *Charlevoix*, Shea's ed., Vol. II. p. 280.

The relation of this, the writer's ſecond voyage, is taken up entirely with the narrative of their journey to Onondaga, his reſidence at the miſſion, and its abandonment on the night of the 20th of March, 1658. On his way thither he was preſent at the maſſacre of the Hurons by the Iroquois, in Auguſt, 1657. His account of the events of 1657 and 1658, concerning the miſſion, will be found to give fuller details than thoſe of Charlevoix,[9] and the Jeſuit relations written for thoſe years by Father Ragueneau. Radiſſon, in concluding his ſecond narrative, ſays: "About the laſt of March we ended our great and incredible dangers. About fourteen nights after we went downe to the Three Rivers, where moſt of us ſtayed. A month after, my brother and I reſolves to travell and ſee countreys. Wee find a good opportunity in our voyage. We proceeded three years; during that time we had the happineſs to ſee very faire countreys." He ſays of the third voyage: "Now followeth the Auxoticiat, or Auxotacicæ, voyage into the great and filthy lake of the hurrons upper ſea of the Eaſt and bay of the North." He mentions that "about the middle of June, 1658, we began to take leave of our company and venter our lives for the common good."

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[8] *Charlevoix*, Shea's ed., Vol. III. p. 13.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. III. p. 13.

Concerning the third voyage, Radiſſon ſtates above, "wee proceeded three years." The memory of the writer had evidently been thrown into ſome confuſion when recording one of the hiſtorical incidents in his relation, as he was finiſhing his narrative of the fourth journey. At the cloſe of his fourth narrative, on his return from the Lake Superior country, where he had been over three years, inſtead of over two, as he mentions, he ſays: "You muſt know that ſeventeen ffrenchmen made a plott with four Algonquins to make a league with three ſcore Hurrons for to goe and wait for the Iroquoits in the paſſage." This paſſage was the Long Sault, on the Ottawa river, where the above ſeventeen Frenchmen were commanded by a young officer of twenty-five, Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux. The maſſacre of the party took place on May 21, 1660, and is duly recorded by ſeveral authorities; namely, Dollier de Caſſon,[10] M. Marie,[11] and Father Lalemont.[12] As Radiſſon has placed the incident in his manuſcript, he would make it appear as having occurred in May, 1664. He writes: "It was a terrible ſpectacle to us, for wee came there eight dayes after that defeat, which ſaved us without doubt." He ſtarted on this third journey about the middle of June, 1658, and it would therefore ſeem he was only abſent on it two years, inſtead of over three, as he ſays. Charlevoix gives the above incident in detail.[13]

During the third voyage Radiſſon and his brother-in-law went to the Miſſiſſippi River in 1658/9. He ſays, "Wee mett with ſeverall ſorts of people. Wee converſed with them, being long time in alliance with them. By the perſuaſion of ſom of them wee went into y^e great river that divides itſelf in two where the hurrons wth ſome Ottanake and the wild men that had warrs with them had retired. . . . The river is called the forked, becauſe it has two branches: the one towards the Weſt, the other towards the South, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave." They alſo made diligent inquiry concerning Hudſon's Bay, and of the beſt means to reach that fur-producing country, evidently with a view to future exploration and trade. They muſt have returned to the Three Rivers about June 1, 1660. Radiſſon ſays: "Wee ſtayed att home att reſt y^t yeare. My brother and I conſidered whether we ſhould diſcover what we have ſeen or no, and becauſe we had not a full and whole diſcovery w^{ch} was that we have not ben in the bay of the north (Hudſon's Bay), not knowing anything but by report of y^e wild Chriſtinos, we would make no mention of it for feare that thoſe wild men ſhould tell us a fibbe. We would have made a diſcovery of it ourſelves and have an aſſurance, before we ſhould diſcover anything of it."

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[10] *Hiſtoire de Montreal, Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1660, p. 14.

[11] *De l'Incarnation*, p. 261.

[12] *Journal*, June 8, 1660.

[13] Shea's edition, Vol. III. p. 33, n.

In the fourth narrative he ſays: "The Spring following we weare in hopes to meet wth ſome company, having ben ſo fortunat the yeare before. Now during the winter, whether it was that my brother revealed to his wife what we had ſeene in our voyage and what we further intended, or how it came to paſſe, it was knowne ſo much that the ffather Jeſuits weare deſirous to find out a way how they might gett downe the caſtors from the bay of y^e North, by the Sacques, and ſo make themſelves maſters of that trade. They reſolved to make a tryall as ſoone as the ice would permitt them. So to diſcover our intentions they weare very earneſt with me to ingage myſelfe in that voyage, to yᵉ end that my brother would give over his, which I uterly denied them, knowing that they could never bring it about." They made an application to the Governor of Quebec for permiſſion to ſtart upon this their fourth voyage; but he refuſed, unleſs they agreed to certain hard conditions which they found it impoſſible to accept. In Auguſt they departed without the Governor's leave, ſecretly at midnight, on their journey, having made an agreement to join a company of the nation of the Sault who were about returning to their country, and who agreed to wait for them two days in the Lake of St. Peter, ſome ſix leagues from Three Rivers. Their journey was made to the country about Lake Superior, where they paſſed much of their time among the nations of the Sault, Fire, Chriſtinos (Kniſteneux), Beef, and other tribes.

Being at Lake Superior, Radiſſon ſays they came "to a remarkable place. It's a banke of Rocks that the wild men made a ſacrifice to, . . . it's like a great portall by reaſon of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that opening is as bigg as a tower, and grows bigger in the going up. There is, I believe, ſix acres of land above it; a ſhipp of 500 tuns could paſſe by, ſoe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of St. Peter, becauſe my name is ſo called, and that I was the firſt Chriſtian that ever ſaw it." Concerning Hudſon's Bay, whilſt they were among the Chriſtinos at Lake Aſſiniboin, Radiſſon mentions in his narrative that "being reſolved to know what we heard before, we waited untill the Ice ſhould vaniſh."

The Governor was greatly diſpleaſed at the diſobedience of Radiſſon and his brother-in-law in going on their laſt voyage without his permiſſion. On their return, the narrative ſtates, "he made my brother priſoner for not having obeyed his orders; he fines us £4,000 to make a fort at yᵉ three rivers, telling us for all manner of ſatisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of armes upon it; and moreover £6,000 for the country, ſaying that wee ſhould not take it ſo ſtrangely and ſo bad, being wee were inhabitants and did intend to finiſh our days in yᵉ ſame country with our relations and friends. . . . Seeing ourſelves ſo wronged, my brother did reſolve to go and demand juſtice in France." Failing to get reſtitution, they reſolved to go over to the Engliſh. They went early in 1665 to Port Royal, Nova Scotia, and from thence to New England, where they engaged an Engliſh or New England ſhip for a trading adventure into Hudſon's Straits in 61° north.

This expedition was attempted becauſe Radiſſon and Des Groſeilliers, on their laſt journey to Lake Superior, "met with ſome ſavages on the lake of Aſſiniboin, and from them they learned that they might go by land to the bottom of Hudſon's Bay, where the Engliſh had not been yet, at James Bay; upon which they deſired them to conduct them thither, and the ſavages accordingly did it. They returned to the upper lake the ſame way they came, and thence to Quebec, where they offered the principal merchants to carry ſhips to Hudſon's Bay; but their project was rejected. Des Groſeilliers then went to France in hopes of a more favorable hearing at Court; but after preſenting ſeveral memorials and ſpending a great deal of time and money, he was anſwered as he had been at Quebec, and the project looked upon as chimerical."[14] This voyage to Hudſon's Straits proved unremunerative. "Wee had knowledge and converſation with y^e^ people of thoſe parts, but wee did ſee and know that there was nothing to be done unleſſe wee went further, and the ſeaſon of the year was far ſpent by y^e^ indiſcretion of our Maſter." Radiſſon continues: "Wee were promiſſed two ſhipps for a ſecond voyage." One of theſe ſhips was ſent to "y^e^ Iſle of Sand, there to fiſh for Baſſe to make oyle of it," and was ſoon after loſt.

In New England, in the early part of the year 1665, Radiſſon and Des Groſeilliers met with two of the four Engliſh Commiſſioners who were ſent over by Charles II. in 1664 to ſettle ſeveral important queſtions in the provinces of New York and New England. They were engaged in the proſecution of their work in the different governments from 1664 to 1665/6. The two Frenchmen, it appears, were called upon in Boſton to defend themſelves in a lawſuit inſtituted againſt them in the courts there, for the annulling of the contract in the trading adventure above mentioned, whereby one of the two ſhips contracted for was loſt. The writer ſtates, that "the expectation of that ſhip made us looſe our ſecond voyage, which did very much diſcourage the merchants with whom wee had to do; they went to law with us to make us recant the bargaine that wee had made with them. After wee had diſputed a long time, it was found that the right was on our ſide and wee innocent of what they did accuſe us. So they endeavoured to come to an agreement, but wee were betrayed by our own party.

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[14] Oldmixon, Vol. I. p. 548.

"In y^e mean time y^e Commiſſioners of the King of Great Britain arrived in that place, & one of them would have us goe wth him to New York, and y^e other adviſed us to come to England and offer ourſelves to y^e King, which wee did." The Commiſſioners were Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Mavericke. Sir Robert Carr wiſhed the two Frenchmen to go with him to New York, but Colonel George Cartwright, erroneouſly called by Radiſſon in his manuſcript "Cartaret," prevailed upon them to embark with him from Nantucket, Auguſt 1, 1665. On this voyage Cartwright carried with him "all the original papers of the tranſactions of the Royal Commiſſioners, together with the maps of the ſeveral colonies." They had alſo as a fellow paſſenger George Carr, preſumably the brother of Sir Robert, and probably the acting ſecretary to the Commiſſion. Colonel Richard Nicolls, writing to Secretary Lord Arlington, July 31, 1665, ſays, "He ſuppoſes Col. Geo. Cartwright is now at ſea." George Carr, alſo writing to Lord Arlington, December 14, 1665, tells him that "he ſends the tranſactions of the Commiſſioners in New England briefly ſet down, each colony by itſelf. The papers by which all this and much more might have been demonſtrated were loſt in obeying His Majeſty's command by keeping company with Captain Pierce, who was laden with maſts; for otherwiſe in probability we might have been in England ten days before we met the Dutch 'Caper,'

'Caper,' who after two hours' fight ſtripped and landed us in Spain. Hearing alſo ſome Frenchmen diſcourſe in New England of a paſſage from the Weſt ſea to the South ſea, and of a great trade of beaver in that paſſage, and afterwards meeting with ſufficient proof of the truth of what they had ſaid, and knowing what great endeavours have been made for the finding out of a North Weſtern paſſage, he thought them the beſt preſent he could poſſibly make His Majeſty, and perſuaded them to come to England. Begs His Lordſhip to procure ſome conſideration for his loſs, ſuffering, and ſervice." Colonel Cartwright, upon his capture at ſea by the Dutch "Caper," threw all his deſpatches and papers overboard.

No doubt the captain of the Dutch veſſel carefully ſcrutinized the papers of Radiſſon and his brother-in-law, and, it may be, carried off ſome of them; for there is evidence in one part at leaſt of the former's narration of his travels, of ſome confuſion, as the writer has tranſpoſed the date of one important and well-known event in Canadian hiſtory. It is evident that the writer was buſy on his voyage preparing his narrative of travels for preſentation to the King. Towards the concluſion of his manuſcript he ſays: "We are now in y^{e} paſſage, and he y^{t} brought us, which was one of the Commiſſioners called Collonell George Cartaret, was taken by y^{e} Hollanders, and wee arrived in England in a very bad time for y^{e} plague and y^{e} warrs. Being at Oxford, wee went to Sir George Cartaret, who ſpoke to His Majeſty, who gave good hopes that wee ſhould have a ſhipp ready for y^{e} next Spring, and y^{t} y^{e} King did allow us forty ſhillings a week for our maintenance, and wee had chambers in

y^{e}

yͤ town by his order, where wee ſtayed three months. Afterwards yͤ King came to London and ſent us to Windſor, where wee ſtayed the reſt of yͤ winter."

Charles II., with his Court, came to open Parliament and the Courts of Law at Oxford, September 25, 1665, and left for Hampton Court to reſide, January 27, 1666. Radiſſon and Des Groſeilliers muſt have arrived there about the 25th of October. DeWitt, the Dutch ſtateſman, and Grand Penſionary of the States of Holland from 1652, becoming informed by the captain of the Dutch "Caper" of the errand of Radiſſon and his companion into England, deſpatched an emiſſary to that country in 1666 to endeavor to entice them out of the Engliſh into the ſervice of the Dutch. Sir John Colleton firſt brought the matter before the notice of Lord Arlington in a letter of November 12th. The agent of DeWitt was one Elie Godefroy Touret, a native of Picardy, France, and an acquaintance of Groſeilliers. Touret had lived over ten years in the ſervice of the Rhinegrave at Maeſtricht. Thinking it might poſſibly aid him in his deſign, he endeavored to paſs himſelf off in London as Groſeilliers' nephew. One Monſieur Delheure depoſed that Groſeilliers "always held Touret in ſuſpicion for calling himſelf his nephew, and for being in England without employment, not being a perſon who could live on his income, and had therefore avoided his company as dangerous to the State. Has heard Touret ſay that if his uncle Groſeilliers were in ſervice of the States of Holland, he would be more conſidered than here, where his merits are not recogniſed, and that if his diſcovery were under the protection of Holland, all would go better with him."

On the 21ſt of November a warrant was iſſued to the Keeper of the Gate Houſe, London, "to take into cuſtody the perſon of Touret for correſponding with the King's enemies." On the 23d of December Touret ſent in a petition to Lord Arlington, bitterly complaining of the ſeverity of his treatment, and endeavored to turn the tables upon his accuſer by repreſenting that Groſeilliers, Radiſſon, and a certain prieſt in London tried to perſuade him to join them in making counterfeit coin, and for his refuſal had perſecuted and entered the accuſation againſt him.

To Des Groſeilliers and Radiſſon muſt be given the credit of originating the idea of forming a ſettlement at Hudſon's Bay, out of which grew the profitable organization of the Hudſon's Bay Company. They obtained through the Engliſh Ambaſſador to France an interview with Prince Rupert, and laid before him their plans, which had been before preſented to the leading merchants of Canada and the French Court. Prince Rupert at once foreſaw the value of ſuch an enterpriſe, and aided them in procuring the required aſſiſtance from ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, to fit out in 1667 two ſhips from London, the "Eagle," Captain Stannard, and the "Nonſuch," ketch, Captain Zechariah Gillam. This Gillam is called by Oldmixon a New Englander, and was probably the ſame one who went in 1664/5 with Radiſſon and Groſeilliers to Hudſon's Strait on the unſucceſsful voyage from Boſton.

Radiſſon thus alludes to the two ſhips that were fitted out in London by the help of Prince Rupert and his aſſociates. The third year after their arrival in England "wee went out with a new Company in two ſmall veſſels, my brother in one and I in another, and wee went together four hundred leagues from y^e^ North of Ireland, where a ſudden greate ſtorme did riſe and put us aſunder. The ſea was ſoe furious ſix or ſeven hours after, that it did almoſt overturne our ſhip. So that wee were forced to cut our maſts rather then cutt our lives; but wee came back ſafe, God be thanked; and y^e^ other, I hope, is gone on his voyage, God be with him."

Captain Gillam and the ketch "Nonſuch," with Des Groſeilliers, proceeded on their voyage, "paſſed thro Hudſon's Streights, and then into Baffin's Bay to 75° North, and thence Southwards into 51°, where, in a river afterwards called Prince Rupert river, He had a friendly correſpondence with the natives, built a Fort, named it Charles Fort, and returned with ſucceſs."[15] When Gillam and Groſeilliers returned, the adventurers concerned in fitting them out "applied themſelves to Charles II. for a patent, who granted one to them and their ſucceſſors for the Bay called Hudſon's Streights."[16] The patent bears date the 2d of May, in the twenty-ſecond year of Charles II., 1670.

In Ellis's manuſcript papers[17] has been found the following original draft of an "anſwer of the Hudſon's Bay Company to a French paper entitled Memoriall juſtifieing the pretenſions of France to Fort Bourbon." 1696/7.

"The French in this paper carrying their pretended right of Diſcovery and ſettlement no higher then the year 1682, and their being diſpoſſeſſed in 1684. Wee ſhall briefly ſhew what ſort of poſſeſſion that was, and how thoſe two actions were managed. Mr Radiſſon, mentioned in the ſaid paper to have made this ſettlement for the French at Port Nelſon in 1682, was many years before ſettled in England, and marryed an Engliſh wife, Sir John Kirke's daughter, and engaged in the intereſt and ſervice of the Engliſh upon private adventure before as well as after the Incorporation of the Hudſon's Bay Company. In 1667, when Prince Rupert and other noblemen ſet out two ſhipps, Radiſſon went in the Eagle, Captain Stannard commander, and in that voyage the name of Rupert's river was given. Again in 1668 and in 1669, and in this voyage directed his courſe to Port Nelſon, and went on ſhore with one Bayly (deſigned Governor for the Engliſh), fixed the King of England's arms there, & left ſome goods for trading. In 1671 three ſhips were ſet out from London by the Hudſon's Bay Company, then incorporated, and Radiſſon went in one of them in their ſervice, ſettled Mooſe River, & went to Port Nelſon, where he left ſome goods, and wintered at Rupert's River. In 1673, upon ſome difference with the Hudſon's Bay Company, Radiſſon returned into France and was there perſuaded to go to Canada. He formed ſeverall deſigns of going on private accounts for ye French into Hudſon's Bay, which the Governor, Monsr Frontenac, would by no means permitt, declaring it would break the union between the two Kings."

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[15] Oldmixon, *Britiſh Empire*, ed. 1741, Vol. I. p. 544.

[16] *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 545.

[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. V. p. 319.

Oldmixon ſays[18] that the above-mentioned Charles Baily, with whom went Radiſſon and ten or twenty men, took out with him Mr. Thomas Gorſt as his ſecretary, who at his requeſt kept a journal, which eventually paſſed into the poſſeſſion of Oldmixon. The following extracts give ſome idea of the life led by the fur-traders at the Fort: "They were apprehenſive of being attacked by ſome Indians, whom the French Jeſuits had animated againſt the Engliſh and all that dealt with them. The French uſed many artifices to hinder the natives trading with the Engliſh; they gave them great rates for their goods, and obliged M^r^ Baily to lower the price of his to oblige the Indians who dwelt about Mooſe river, with whom they drove the greateſt trade. The French, to ruin their commerce with the natives, came and made a ſettlement not above eight days' journey up that river from the place where the Engliſh traded. 'T was therefore debated whether the Company's Agents ſhould not remove from Rupert's to Mooſe river, to prevent their traffick being interrupted by the French. On the 3^{d} of April, 1674, a council of the principal perſons in the Fort was held, where M^{r} Baily, the Gov^{r}, Cap^{t} Groſeilliers, and Cap^{t} Cole were preſent and gave their ſeveral opinions. The Governor inclined to move. Cap^{t} Cole was againſt it, as dangerous, and Cap^{t} Groſeilliers for going thither in their bark to trade.[19] . . . The Governor, having got everything ready for a voyage to Mooſe river, ſent Cap^{t} Groſeilliers, Cap^{t} Cole, M^{r} Gorſt, and other Indians to trade there. They got two hundred and fifty ſkins, and the Cap^{t} of the Tabittee Indians informed them the French Jeſuits had bribed the Indians not to deal with the Engliſh, but to live in friendſhip with the Indian nations in league with the French. . . . The reaſon they got no more peltry now was becauſe the Indians thought Groſeilliers was too hard for them, and few would come down to deal with him."[20] After Captain Baily[21] had returned from a voyage in his ſloop to trade to the fort, "on the 30th Augt a miſſionary Jeſuit, born of Engliſh parents, arrived, bearing a letter from the Governor of Quebec to Mr Baily, dated the 8th of October, 1673.

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[18] Oldmixon, Vol. I. p. 549.

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[19] Oldmixon, Vol. I. p. 552.

"The Governor of Quebec deſired Mr Baily to treat the Jeſuit civilly, on account of the great amity between the two crowns. Mr Baily reſolved to keep the prieſt till ſhips came from England. He brought a letter, alſo, for Capt Groſeilliers, which gave jealouſy to the Engliſh of his correſponding with the French. His ſon-in-law lived in Quebec, and had accompanied the prieſt part of the way, with three other Frenchmen, who, being afraid to venture among ſtrange Indians, returned. . . . Proviſions running ſhort, they were agreed, on the 17th Septr, they were all to depart for Point Comfort, to ſtay there till the 22d, and then make the beſt of their way for England. In this deplorable condition were they when the Jeſuit, Capt Groſeilliers, & another papiſt, walking downwards to the ſeaſide at their devotions, heard ſeven great guns fire diſtinctly. They came home in a tranſport of joy, told their companions the news, and aſſured them it was true. Upon which they fired three great guns from the fort to return the ſalute, though they could ill ſpare the powder upon ſuch an uncertainty." The ſhip "Prince Rupert" had arrived, with Capain Gillam, bringing the new Governor, William Lyddel, Eſq.

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[20] Oldmixon, Vol. I. p. 554.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 555.

Groſeilliers and Radiſſon, after remaining for ſeveral years under the Hudſon's Bay Company, at laſt in 1674 felt obliged to ſever the connection, and went over again to France. Radiſſon told his nephew in 1684 that the cauſe was "the refuſal, that ſhowed the bad intention of the Hudſon's Bay Company to ſatisfy us." Several influential members of the committee of direction for the Company were deſirous of retaining them in their employ; among them the Duke of York, Prince Rupert their firſt Governor, Sir James Hayes, Sir William Young, Sir John Kirke, and others; but it is evident there was a hoſtile feeling towards Radiſſon and his brother-in-law on the part of ſeveral members of the committee, for even after his ſucceſsful expedition in 1684 they found "ſome members of the committee offended becauſe I had had the honour of making my reverence to the King and to his Royal Highneſs."

From 1674 to 1683, Radiſſon ſeems to have remained ſtanch in his allegiance to Louis XIV. In his narrative of the years 1682 and 1683 he ſhews that Colbert endeavored to induce him to bring his wife over into France, it would appear to remain there during his abſence in Hudſon's Bay, as ſome ſort of ſecurity for her huſband's fidelity to the intereſts of the French monarch. After his return from this voyage in 1683 he felt himſelf again unfairly treated by the French Court, and in 1684, as he relates in his narrative, he "paſſed over to England for good, and of engaging myſelf ſo ſtrongly to the ſervice of his Majeſty, and to the intereſts of the Nation, that any other conſideration was never able to detach me from it."

We again hear of Radiſſon in Hudſon's Bay in 1685; and this is his laſt appearance in public records or documents as far as is known. A Canadian, Captain Berger, ſtates that in the beginning of June, 1685, "he and his crew aſcended four leagues above the Engliſh in Hudſon's Bay, where they made a ſmall ſettlement. On the 15th of July they ſet out to return to Quebec. On the 17th they met with a veſſel of ten or twelve guns, commanded by Captain Oſlar, on board of which was the man named Bridgar, the Governor, who was going to relieve the Governor at the head of the Bay. He is the ſame that Radiſſon brought to Quebec three years ago in the ſhip Mons^r^ de la Barre reſtored to him. Berger alſo ſays he aſked a parley with the captain of M^r^ Bridgar's bark, who told him that Radiſſon had gone with M^r^ Chouart, his nephew, fifteen days ago, to winter in the River S^te^ Thereſa, where they wintered a year."[22]

After this date the Engliſh and the French frequently came into hoſtile colliſion in Hudſon's Bay. In 1686 King James demanded ſatisfaction from France for loſſes inflicted upon the Company. Then the Jeſuits procured neutrality for America, and knew by that time they were in poſſeſſion of Fort Albany. In 1687 the French took the "Hayes" ſloop, an infraction of the treaty. In 1688 they took three ſhips, valued, in all, at £15,000; £113,000 damage in time of peace. In 1692 the Company ſet out four ſhips to recover Fort Albany, taken in 1686. In 1694 the French took York, *alias* Fort Bourbon. In 1696 the Engliſh retook it from them. On the 4th September, 1697, the French retook it and kept it. The peace was made September 20, 1697.[23] In 1680 the ſtock roſe from £100 to near £1,000. Notwithſtanding the loſſes ſuſtained by the Company, amounting to £118,014 between 1682 and 1688, they were able to pay in 1684 the ſhareholders a dividend of fifty per cent. Radiſſon brought home in 1684 a cargo of 20,000 beaver ſkins. Oldmixon ſays, "10,000 Beavers, in all their factories, was one of the beſt years of Trade they ever had, beſides other peltry." Again in 1688 a dividend of fifty per cent was made, and in 1689 one of twenty-five per cent. In 1690, without any call being made, the ſtock was trebled, while at the ſame time a dividend of twenty-five per cent was paid on the increaſed or newly created ſtock. At the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, the forts captured by the French in 1697 were reſtored to the Company, who by 1720 had again trebled their capital, with a call of only ten per cent. After a long and fierce rivalry with the Northweſt Fur Company, the two companies were amalgamated in 1821.[24]

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[22] *New York Colonial Documents,* Vol. IX.

[23] *Minutes Relating to Hudſon's Bay Company.*

Radiſſon commences his narrative of 1652 in a reverent ſpirit, by inſcribing it "à la plus grande gloire de Dieu." All his manuſcripts have been handed down in perfect preſervation. They are written out in a clear and excellent handwriting, ſhowing the writer to have been a perſon of good education, who had alſo travelled in Turkey and Italy, and who had been in London, and perhaps learned his Engliſh there in his early life. The narrative of travels between the years 1652 and 1664 was for ſome time the property of Samuel Pepys, the well-known diariſt, and Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles II. and James II. He probably received it from Sir George Cartaret, the Vice-Chamberlain of the King and Treaſurer of the Navy, for whom it was no doubt carefully copied out from his rough notes by the author, ſo that it might, through him, be brought under the notice of Charles II. Some years after the death of Pepys, in 1703, his collection of manuſcripts was diſperſed and fell into the hands of various London tradeſmen, who bought parcels of it to uſe in their ſhops as waſte-paper. The moſt valuable portions were carefully reclaimed by the celebrated collector, Richard Rawlinſon, who in writing to his friend T. Rawlins, from "London houſe, January 25th, 1749/50," ſays: "I have purchaſed the beſt part of the fine collection of Mr Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty during the reigns of Chas 2d and James 2d. Some are as old as King Henry VIII. They were collected with a deſign for a Lord High Admiral ſuch as he ſhould approve; but thoſe times are not yet come, and ſo little care was taken of them that they were redeemed from *thus et odores vendentibus*."

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[24] *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

The manuſcript containing Radiſſon's narrative for the years 1682 and 1683 was "purchaſed of Rodd, 8th July, 1839," by the Britiſh Muſeum. The narrative in French, for the year 1684, was bought by Sir Hans Sloane from the collection of "Nicolai Joſeph Foucault, Comitis Conſiſtoriani," as his bookplate informs us. With the manuſcript this gentleman had bound up in the ſame volume a religious treatiſe in manuſcript, highly illuminated, in Italian, relating to ſome of the ſaints of the Catholic Church.[25]

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[25] I am under obligations to Mr. John Gilmary Shea for valuable information.

VOYAGES
OF
PETER ESPRIT RADISSON.

The Relation of my Voyage, being in Bondage in the Lands of the Irokoits, w^{ch} was the next yeare after my coming into Canada, in the yeare 1651, *the 24th day of May.*

BEING perſuaded in the morning by two of my comrades to go and recreat ourſelves in fowling, I diſpoſed myſelfe to keepe them Company; wherfor I cloathed myſelfe the lighteſt way I could poſſible, y^{t} I might be the nimbler and not ſtay behinde, as much for the prey that I hoped for, as for to eſcape y^{e} danger into w^{ch} wee have ventered ourſelves of an enemy the crueleſt that ever was uppon the face of y^{e} Earth. It is to bee obſerved that the french had warre wth a wild nation called Iroquoites, who for that time weare ſoe ſtrong and ſo to be feared y^{t} ſcarce any body durſt ſtirre out either Cottage or houſe without being taken or kill^{d},[28] ſaving that he had nimble limbs to eſcape their fury; being departed, all three well armed, and unanimiouſly rather die then abandon one another, notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions weare but young mens deboaſting; being then in a very litle aſſurance and leſſe ſecurity.

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[28] In 1641–1645 Father Vimont writes: "I had as lief be beſet by goblins as by the Iroquois. The one are about as inviſible as the other. Our people on the

At an offspring of a village of three Rivers we conſult together that two ſhould go the watter ſide, the other in a wood hardby to warne us, for to advertiſe us if he accidentaly ſhould light [upon] or ſuſpect any Barbars in ambuſh, we alſo retreat ourſelves to him if we ſhould diſcover any thing uppon the River. Having comed to the firſt river, wch was a mile diſtant from our dwellings, wee mett a man who mett a man who kept cattell, and aſked him if he had knowne any appearance of Ennemy, and likewiſe demanded wch way he would adviſe us to gett better fortune, and what part he ſpied more danger; he guiding us the beſt way he could, prohibiting us by no means not to render ourſelves att ye ſkirts of the mountains; ffor, ſaid he, I diſcovered oftentimes a multitude of people which roſe up as it weare of a ſudaine from of the Earth, and yt doubtleſs there weare ſome Enemys that way; wch ſayings made us looke to ourſelves and charge two of our fowling peeces wth great ſhot the one, and the other wth ſmall. Priming our piſtols, we went where our fancy firſt lead us, being impoſſible for us to avoid the deſtinies of ye heavens; no ſooner tourned our backs, but my noſe fell ableeding wthout any provocation in the leaſt. Certainly it was a warning for me of a beginning of

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Richelieu and at Montreal are kept in a cloſer confinement than ever were monks or nuns in our ſmalleſt convents in France."

of a yeare and a half of hazards and of miſeryes that weare to befall mee. We did ſhoot ſometime and killed ſome Duks, wch made one of my fellow travellers go no further. I ſeeing him taking ſuch a reſolution, I proferred ſome words that did not like him, giving him the character of a timourous, childiſh humor; ſo this did nothing prevaile wth him, to the Contrary that had wth him quite another iſſue then what I hoped for; ffor offending him wth my words he prevailed ſo much wth the others that he perſuaded them to doe the ſame. I lett them goe, laughing them to ſcorne, beſeeching them to helpe me to my fowles, and that I would tell them the diſcovery of my deſignes, hoping to kill meat to make us meate att my retourne.

I went my way along the wood ſome times by the ſide of the river, where I finde ſomething to ſhute att, though no conſiderable quantitie, wch made me goe a league off and more, ſo I could not go in all further then St. Peeter's, wch is nine mile from the plantation by reaſon of the river Ovamaſis, wch hindered me ye paſſage. I begun'd to think att my retourne how I might tranſport my fowle. I hide one part in a hollow tree to keep them from ye Eagles and other devouring fowles, ſo as I came backe the ſame way where before had no bad incounter. Arrived within one halfe a mile where my comrades had left me, I reſted awhile by reaſon yt I was looden'd wth three geeſe, tenn ducks, and one crane, wth ſome teales.

After having layd downe my burden uppon the graſſe, I thought to have heard a noiſe in the wood by me, wch made me to overlook my armes; I found one of my girdle piſtols wette. I ſhott it off and charged it againe, went up to the wood the ſoffliest I might, to diſcover and defend myſelfe the better againſt any ſurpriſe. After I had gone from tree to tree ſome 30 paces off I eſpied nothing; as I came back from out of the wood to an adjacent brooke, I perceived a great number of Ducks; my diſcovery imbouldened me, and for that there was a litle way to the fort, I determined to ſhute once more; coming nigh preparing meſelfe for to ſhute, I found another worke, the two young men that I left ſome tenne houres before heere weare killed. Whether they came after mee, or weare brought thither by the Barbars, I know not. However [they] weare murthered. Looking over them, knew them albeit quite naked, and their hair ſtanding up, the one being ſhott through w^th^ three boulletts and two blowes of an hatchett on the head, and the other runne thorough in ſeverall places w^th^ a ſword and ſmitten w^th^ an hatchett. Att the ſame inſtance my noſe begun'd to bleed, w^ch^ made me afraid of my life; but w^th^drawing myſelfe to the watter ſide to ſee if any body followed mee, I eſpied twenty or thirty heads in a long graſſe. Mightily ſurprized att y^t^ view, I muſt needs paſſe through the midſt of them or tourne backe into the woode. I ſlipp^t^ a boullet uppon the ſhott and beate the paper into my gunne. I heard a noiſe, w^ch^ made me looke on that ſide; hopeing to ſave meſelfe, perſwading myſelfe I was not yet perceived by them that weare in the medow, and in the meane while ſome gunns weare lett off w^th^ an horrid cry.

Seeing myſelfe compaſſed round about by a multitude of dogges, or rather devils, that roſe from the graſſe, ruſheſſe, and buſheſſe, I ſhott my gunne, whether un warrs or purpoſly I know not, but I ſhott w^th^ a piſtolle confidently, but was ſeiſed on all ſids by a great number that threw me downe, taking away my arme without giving mee one blowe; ffor afterwards I felt no paine att all, onely a great guidineſſe in my heade, from whence it comes I doe not remember. In the ſame time they brought me into the wood, where they ſhewed me the two heads all bloody. After they conſulted together for a while, retired into their boats, w^{ch} weare four or five miles from thence, and wher I have bin a while before. They lay^{d} mee hither, houlding me by the hayre, to the imbarking place; there they began to errect their cottages, w^{ch} conſiſted only of ſome ſticks to boyle their meate, whereof they had plenty, but ſtuncke, w^{ch} was ſtrange to mee to finde ſuch an alteration ſo ſudaine. They made [me] ſitt downe by. After this they ſearched me and tooke what I had, then ſtripped me naked, and tyed a rope about my middle, wherin I remained, fearing to perſiſt, in the ſame poſture y^{e} reſt of the night. After this they removed me, laughing and howling like as many wolves, I knowing not the reaſon, if not for my ſkin, that was ſoe whit in reſpect of theirs. But their gaping did ſoone ceaſe becauſe of a falſe alarme, that their ſcout who ſtayed behind gave them, ſaying that the ffrench and the wild Algongins, friends to the ffrench, came wth all ſpeed. They preſently put out the fire, and tooke hould of the moſt advantageous paſſages, and ſent 25 men to diſcover what it meant, who brought certaine tydings of aſſurance and liberty.

In the meanewhile I was garded by 50 men, who gave me a good part of my cloathes. After kindling a fire againe, they gott theire ſupper ready, w^{ch} was ſudenly don, ffor they dreſſe their meat halfe boyled, mingling ſome yallowiſh meale in the broath of that infected ſtinking meate; ſo whilſt this was adoing they comb^{d} my head, and wth a filthy greaſe greaſed my head, and daſhed all over my face wth redd paintings. So then, when the meat was ready, they feeded me wth their hodpot, forcing me to ſwallow it in a maner. My heart did ſo faint at this, that in good deede I ſhould have given freely up the ghoſt to be freed from their clawes, thinking every moment they would end my life. They perceived that my ſtomach could not beare ſuch victuals. They tooke ſome of this ſtinking meate and boyled it in a cleare watter, then mingled a litle Indian meale put to it, w^{ch} meale before was toſſed amongſt bourning ſand, and then made in powder betwixt two rocks. I, to ſhew myſelfe cheerfull att this, ſwallowed downe ſome of this that ſeemed to me very unſavoury and clammie by reaſon of the ſcume that was upon the meat. Having ſupped, they untyed mee, and made me lye betwixt them, having one end of one ſide and one of another, and covered me wth a red Coverlet, thorough w^{ch} I might have counted the ſtarrs. I ſlept a ſound ſleep, for they awaked me uppon the breaking of the day. I dreamed that night that I was wth the Jeſuits at Quebuc drinking beere, w^{ch} gave me hopes to be free ſometimes, and alſo becauſe I heard thoſe people lived among Dutch people in a place called Menada,[27] and fort of Orang, where wthout doubt I could drinke beere. I, after this, finding meſelfe ſomewhat altered, and my body more like a devil then anything elſe, after being ſo ſmeared and burſt wth their filthy meate that I could not digeſt, but muſt ſuffer all patiently.

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[27] *Menada*, Manhattan, or New Netherlands, called by the French of Canada "Manatte."

Finally they ſeemed to me kinder and kinder, giving me of the beſt bitts where leſſe wormes weare. Then they layd [me] to the watter ſide, where there weare 7 and 30 boats, ffor each of them imbark'd himſelfe. They tyed me to the barre in a boat, where they tooke at the ſame inſtance the heads of thoſe that weare killed the day before, and for to preſerve them they cutt off the fleſh to y^{e} ſkull and left nothing but ſkin and haire, putting of it into a litle panne wherein they melt ſome greaſe, and gott it dry wth hot ſtones. They ſpread themſelves from off the ſide of the river a good way, and gathered together againe and made a fearfull noiſe and ſhott ſome gunns off, after w^{ch} followed a kind of an incondit ſinging after nots, w^{ch} was an oudiouſom noiſe. As they weare departing from thence they injoyned ſilence, and one of the Company, wherein I was, made three ſhouts, w^{ch} was anſwered by the like maner from the whole flocke; w^{ch} done they tooke their way, ſinging and leaping, and ſo paſt the day in ſuch like. They offered mee meate; but ſuch victuals I reguarded it litle, but could drinke for thirſt. My ſperit was troubled wth infinite deale of thoughts, but all to no purpoſe for the eaſe of my ſickneſſe; sometimes deſpairing, now againe in ſome hopes. I allwayes indeavoured to comfort myſelfe, though half dead. My reſolution was ſo maſtered wth feare, that at every ſtroake of the oares of theſe inhumans I thought it to be my end.

By ſunſett we arrived att the Iſles of Richelieu, a place rather for victors then for captives moſt pleaſant. There is to be ſeen 300 wild Cowes together, a number of Elks and Beavers, an infinit of fowls. There we muſt make cottages, and for this purpoſe they imploy all together their wits and art, ffor 15 of theſe Iſlands are drowned in Spring, when the floods begin to riſe from the melting of the ſnow, and that by reaſon of the loweneſs of the land. Here they found a place fitt enough for 250 men that their army conſiſted [of]. They landed mee & ſhewed mee great kindneſſe, ſaying Chagon, w^ch^ is as much [as] to ſay, as I underſtood afterwards, be cheerfull or merry; but for my part I was both deafe and dumb. Their behaviour made me nevertheleſſe cheerfull, or att leaſt of a ſmiling countenance, and conſtraine my averſion and feare to an aſſurance, w^ch^ proved not ill to my thinking; ffor the young men tooke delight in combing my head, greaſing and powdering out a kinde of redd powder, then tying my haire w^th^ a redd ſtring of leather like to a coard, w^ch^ cauſed my haire to grow longer in a ſhort time.

The day following they prepared themſelves to paſſe the adjacent places and ſhoote to gett victualls, where we ſtayed 3 dayes, making great cheere and fires. I more and more getting familiarity w^th^ them, that I had the liberty to goe from cottage, having one or two by mee. They untyed mee, and tooke delight to make me ſpeake words of their language, and weare earneſt that I ſhould pronounce as they. They tooke care to give me meate as often as I would; they gave me ſalt y^t^ ſerved me all my voyage. They alſo tooke y^e^ paines to put it up ſafe for mee, not takeing any of it for themſelves. There was nothing elſe but feaſting and ſinging during our abode. I tooke notice that our men decreaſed, ffor every night one other boate tooke his way, w^ch^ perſuaded mee y^t^ they went to the warrs to gett more booty.

The fourth day, early in the morning, my Brother, viz., he that tooke me, ſo he called me, embarked me w^th^out tying me. He gave me an oare, w^{ch} I tooke w^{th} a good will, and rowed till I ſweate againe. They, perceaving, made me give over; not content w^{th} y^{t} I made a ſigne of my willingneſſe to continue that worke. They conſent to my deſire, but ſhewed me how I ſhould row without putting myſelfe into a ſweat. Our company being conſiderable hitherto, was now reduced to three ſcore. Mid-day wee came to the River of Richlieu, where we weare not farre gon, but mett a new gang of their people in cottages; they began to hoop and hollow as the firſt day of my taking. They made me ſtand upright in y^{e} boat, as they themſelves, ſaluting one another w^{th} all kindneſſe and joy. In this new company there was one y^{t} had a minde to doe me miſchiefe, but prevented by him that tooke me. I taking notice of y^{e} fellow, I ſhewed him more friendſhipe. I gott ſome meate roaſted for him, and throwing a litle ſalt and flower over it, w^{ch} he finding very good taſt, gave it to the reſt as a rarity, nor did afterwards moleſt mee.

They tooke a fancy to teach mee to ſing; and as I had allready a beginning of their hooping, it was an eaſy thing for me to learne, our Algonquins making the ſame noiſe. They tooke an exceeding delight to heare mee. Often have I ſunged in French, to w^{ch} they gave eares w^{th} a deepe ſilence. We paſſed that day and night following w^{th} litle reſt by reaſon of their joy and mirth. They lead a dance, and tyed my comrades both their heads att the end of a ſtick and hopt it; this done, every one packt and embarked himſelfe, ſome going one way, ſome another. Being ſeparated, one of the boats that we mett before comes backe againe and approaches the boat wherein I was; I wondered, a woman of y^e ſaid company taking hould on my haire, ſignifying great kindneſſe. Shee combs my head w^{th} her fingers and tyed my wriſt with a bracelett, and ſunged. My wiſh was y^t ſhee would proceed in our way. After both companys made a ſhout wee ſeparated. I was ſorry for this woman's departure, ffor having ſhewed me ſuch favour att her firſt aſpect, doubtleſſe but ſhee might, if neede required, ſaved my life.

Our journey was indifferent good, w^{th}out any delay, w^{ch} cauſed us to arrive in a good and pleaſant harbour. It was on the ſide of the ſand where our people had any paine ſcarce to errect their cottages, being that it was a place they had ſejourned [at] before. The place round about [was] full of trees. Heare they kindled a fire and provided what was neceſſary for their food. In this place they cutt off my hair in the front and upon the crowne of the head, and turning up the locks of y^e haire they dab'd mee w^{th} ſome thicke greaſe. So done, they brought me a looking-glaſſe. I viewing myſelfe all in a pickle, ſmir'd w^{th} redde and black, covered w^{th} ſuch a cappe, and locks tyed up w^{th} a peece of leather and ſtunked horridly, I could not but fall in love w^{th} myſelfe, if not y^t I had better inſtructions to ſhun the ſin of pride. So after repaſting themſelves, they made them ready for the journey w^{th} takeing repoſe that night. This was the time I thought to have eſcaped, ffor in vaine, ffor I being alone feared leaſt I ſhould be apprehended and dealt w^{th} more violently. And moreover I was deſirous to have ſeene their country.

Att the ſun riſing I awaked my brother, telling him by ſignes it was time to goe. He called the reſt, but non would ſtirre, w^{ch} made him lye downe againe. I roſe and went to the water ſide, where I walked awhile. If there weare another we might, I dare ſay, eſcape out of their ſight. Heere I recreated myſelfe running a naked ſwoord into y^{e} ſand. One of them ſeeing mee after ſuch an exerciſe calls mee and ſhews me his way, w^{ch} made me more confidence in them. They brought mee a diſh full of meate to the water ſide. I began to eat like a beare.

In the mean time they imbark'd themſelves, one of them tooke notice y^{t} I had not a knife, brings me his, w^{ch} I kept the reſt of the voyage, wthout that they had y^{e} leaſt feare of me. Being ready to goe, ſaving my boat that was ammending, w^{ch} was ſoone done. The other boats weare not as yett out of ſight, and in the way my boat killed a ſtagg. They made me ſhoot att it, and not quite dead they runed it thorough wth their ſwoords, and having cutt it in peeces, they devided it, and proceeded on their way. At 3 of the clock in the afternoone we came into a rappid ſtreame, where we weare forced to land and carry our Equipages and boats thorough a dangerous place. Wee had not any encounter that day. Att night where we found cottages ready made, there I cutt wood as y^{e} reſt wth all dilligence. The morning early following we marched wthout making great noiſe, or ſinging as accuſtomed. Sejourning awhile, we came to a lake 6 leagues wide, about it a very pleaſant country imbelliſhed wth great foreſts. Y^{t} day our wild people killed 2 Bears, one monſtrous like for its biggneſſe, the other a ſmall one. Wee arrived to a fine ſandy bancke, where not long before many Cabbanes weare errected and places made where Priſoners weare tyed.

In this place our wild people ſweated after the maner following: firſt heated ſtones till they weare redd as fire, then they made a lantherne wth ſmall ſticks, then ſtoaring the place wth deale trees, ſaving a place in the middle whereinto they put the ſtoanes, and covered the place wth ſeverall covers, then ſtriped themſelves naked, went into it. They made a noiſe as if y^{e} devil weare there; after they being there for an hour they came out of the watter, and then throwing one another into the watter, I thought veryly they weare inſenſed. It is their uſual Cuſtome. Being comed out of this place, they feaſted themſelves wth the two bears, turning the outſide of the tripes inward not waſhed. They gave every one his ſhare; as for my part I found them [neither] good, nor ſavory to the pallet. In the night they heard ſome ſhooting, w^{ch} made them embark themſelves ſpeedily. In the mean while they made me lay downe whilſt they rowed very hard. I ſlept ſecurely till the morning, where I found meſelfe in great high ruſhes. There they ſtayed wthout noiſe.

From thence wee proceeded, though not without ſome feare of an Algonquin army. We went on for ſome dayes that lake. Att laſt they endeavoured to retire to the woods, every one carrying his bundle. After a daye's march we came to a litle river where we lay'd that night. The day following we proceeded on our journey, where we mett 2 men, wth whome our wild men ſeemed to be acquainted by ſome ſignes. Theſe 2 men began to ſpeake a longe while. After came a company of women, 20 in number, that brought us dry fiſh and Indian corne. Theſe women loaded themſelves, after y^{t} we had eaten, like mules wth our baggage. We went through a ſmall wood, the way well beaten, untill the evening we touched a place for fiſhing, of 15 Cabbans. There they weare well received but myſelfe, who was ſtroaken by a yong man. He, my keeper, made a ſigne I ſhould to him againe. I tourning to him inſtantly, he to me, taking hould of my haire, all the wild men came about us, encouraging wth their Cryes and hands, w^{ch} encouraged me moſt that non helpt him more then mee. Wee clawed one another wth hands, tooth, and nailes. My adverſary being offended I have gotten the beſt, he kick't me; but my french ſhoes that they left mee weare harder then his, w^{ch} made him [give up] that game againe. He tooke me about the wreſt, where he found himſelfe downe before he was awarre, houlding him upon the ground till ſome came and putt us aſunder. My company ſeeing mee free, began to cry out, giving me watter to waſh me, and then freſh fiſh to reliſh me. They encouraged me ſo much, the one combing my head, the other greaſing my haire. There we ſtayed 2 dayes, where no body durſt trouble me.

In the ſame Cabban that I was, there has bin a wild man wounded wth a ſmall ſhott. I thought I have ſeen him the day of my taking, w^{ch} made me feare leaſt I was the one that wounded him. He knowing it to be ſo had ſhewed me as much charity as a Chriſtian might have given. Another of his fellowes (I alſo wounded) came to me att my firſt coming there, whom I thought to have come for reveng, contrarywiſe ſhewed me a cheerfull countenance; he gave mee a box full of red paintings, calling me his brother. I had not as yett caryed any burden, but meeting wth an ould man, gave me a ſacke of tobacco of 12 pounds' weight, bearing it uppon my head, as it 's their uſuall cuſtome. We made ſeverall ſtayes y^{t} day by reaſon of the ſeverall encounters of their people that came from villages, as warrs others from fiſhing and ſhooting. In that journey our company increaſed, among others a great many Hurrons that had bin lately taken, and who for the moſt part are as ſlaves. We lay'd in the wood becauſe they would not goe into their village in the night time.

The next day we marched into a village where as wee came in ſight we heard nothing but outcryes, as from one ſide as from the other, being a quarter of a mile from the village. They ſatt downe and I in the midle, where I ſaw women and men and children wth ſtaves and in array, w^{ch} put me in feare, and inſtantly ſtripped me naked. My keeper gave me a ſigne to be gone as faſt as I could drive. In y^{e} meane while many of the village came about us, among w^{ch} a good old woman, and a boy wth a hatchet in his hand came near mee. The old woman covered me, and y^{e} young man tooke me by the hand and lead me out of the company. The old woman made me ſtep aſide from thoſe that weare ready to ſtricke att mee. There I left the 2 heads of my comrades, and that w^{ch} comforted me y^{t} I eſcaped the blowes. Then they brought me into their Cottage; there y^{e} old woman ſhewed me kindneſſe. Shee gave me to eate. The great terror I had a litle before tooke my ſtomack away from me. I ſtayed an hower, where a great company of people came to ſee mee. Heere came a company of old men, having pipes in their mouthes, ſatt about me.

After ſmoaking, they lead me into another cabban, where there weare a company all ſmoaking; they made [me] ſitt downe by the fire, wch made [me] apprehend they ſhould caſt me into ye ſaid fire. But it proved otherwiſe; for the old woman followed mee, ſpeaking aloud, whom they anſwered wth a loud ho, then ſhee tooke her girdle and about mee ſhee tyed it, ſo brought me to her cottage, and made me ſitt downe in ye ſame place I was before. Then ſhee began to dance and ſing a while, after [ſhe] brings downe from her box a combe, gives it to a maide that was neare mee, who preſently comes to greas and combe my haire, and tooke away the paint yt the fellows ſtuck to my face. Now the old woman getts me ſome Indian Corne toaſted in the fire. I tooke paines to gether it out of the fire; after this ſhee gave me a blew coverlett, ſtokins and ſhoos, and where wth to make me drawers. She looked in my cloathes, and if ſhee found any lice ſhee would ſqueeze them betwixt her teeth, as if they had ben ſubſtantiall meate. I lay'd wth her ſon, who tooke me from thoſe of my firſt takers, and gott at laſt a great acquaintance wth many. I did what I could to gett familiarity wth them, yeat I ſuffered no wrong att their hands, taking all freedom, wch the old woman inticed me to doe. But ſtill they altered my face where ever I went, and a new diſh to ſatisfy nature.

I tooke all the pleaſures imaginable, having a ſmall peece at my command, ſhooting patriges and ſquerells, playing moſt part of the day wth my companions. The old woman wiſhed that I would make meſelfe more familiar wth her 2 daughters, wch weare tolerable among ſuch people. They weare accuſtomed to greaſe and combe my haire in ye morning. I went wth them into the wilderneſs, there they would be gabling wch I could not underſtand. They wanted no company but I was ſhure to be of the number. I brought all ways ſome guifts y^t I received, w^{ch} I gave to my purſe-keeper and refuge, y^e good old woman. I lived 5 weeks without thinking from whence I came. I learned more of their maners in 6 weeks then if I had bin in ffrance 6 months. Att the end I was troubled in minde, w^{ch} made her inquire if I was Anjonack, a Huron word. Att this I made as if I weare ſubported for ſpeaking in a ſtrang language, w^{ch} ſhee liked well, calling me by the name of her ſon who before was killed, Orinha,[28] w^{ch} ſignifies ledd or ſtone, wthout difference of y^e words. So that it was my Lordſhippe. Shee inquired [of] mee whether I was Afferony, a french. I anſwering no, ſaying I was Panugaga, that is, of their nation, for w^{ch} ſhee was pleaſed.

My father feaſted 300 men y^t day. My ſiſters made me clean for that purpos, and greaſed my haire. My mother decked me wth a new cover and a redd and blew cappe, wth 2 necklace of porcelaine. My ſiſters tyed me wth bracelets and garters of the ſame porcelaine. My brother painted my face, and [put] feathers on my head, and tyed both my locks wth porcelaine. My father was liberall to me, giving me a garland inſtead of my blew cap and a necklace of porcelaine that hung downe to my heels, and a hattchet in my hand. It was hard for me to defend myſelfe againſt any encounter, being ſo laden wth riches. Then my father made a ſpeech ſhewing many demonſtrations of vallor, broak a kettle full of Cagamite[29] wth a hattchett. So they ſung, as is their uſual couſtom. They weare waited on by a ſort of yong men, bringing downe diſhes of meate of Oriniacke,[30] of Caſtors, and of red deer mingled with ſome flowers. The order of makeing was thus: the corne being dried between 2 ſtones into powder, being very thick, putt it into a kettle full of watter, then a quantity of Bear's greaſe. This banquett being over, they cryed to me Shagon, Orimha, that is, be hearty, ſtone or ledd. Every one withdrew into his quarters, and ſo did I.

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[28] Called *Orimha*, over-leaf.

[29] *Cagamite*, *Cagaimtie*, *Sagamite*, a muſh made of pounded Indian corn boiled with bits of meat or fiſh.

But to the purpoſe of my hiſtory. As I went to the fields once, where I mett wth 3 of my acquaintance, who had a deſigne for to hunt a great way off, they deſired me to goe along. I lett them know in Huron language (for that I knew better then that of the Iroquoits) I was content, deſiring them to ſtay till I acquainted my mother. One of them came along wth mee, and gott leave for me of my kindred. My mother gott me preſently a ſack of meale, 3 paire of ſhoos, my gun, and tourned backe where the 2 ſtayed for us. My 2 ſiſters accompanied me even out of the wilderneſſe and carried my bundle, where they tooke leave.

We marched on that day through the woods till we came by a lake where we travelled wthout any reſt. I wiſhed I had ſtayed att home, for we had ſad victualls. The next day about noone we came to a River; there we made a ſkiffe, ſo litle that we could ſcarce go into it. I admired their ſkill in doing of it, ffor in leſſe then 2 hours they cutt the tree and pulled up the Rind, of w^{ch} they made y^{e} boat. We embarked ourſelves and went to the lower end of the river, w^{ch} emptied it ſelfe into a litle lake of about 2 miles in length and a mile in breadth. We paſſed this lake into another river broader then the other; there we found a freſh track of a ſtagge, which made us ſtay heere a while. It was five of the clock att leaſt when 2 of our men made themſelves ready to looke after that beaſt; the other and I ſtayed behind. Not long after we ſaw the ſtagge croſſe the river, w^{ch} ſoarding brought him to his ending. So done, they went on their cours, and came backe againe att 10 of the clocke wth 3 bears, a caſtor, and y^{e} ſtagge w^{ch} was ſlaine att our ſight. How did wee rejoice to ſee that killed w^{ch} would make the kettle boyle. After we have eaten, wee ſlept.

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[30] *Oriniacke, Auriniacks, horiniac,* the mooſe, the largeſt ſpecies of deer. Called by the French writers — Sagard-Theodat, La Hontan, and Charlevoix — *Eſlan, Orinal,* or *Orignal.*

Y^{e} next day we made trappes for to trapp caſtors, whilſt we weare buſſie, one about one thing, one about another. As 3 of us retourned homewards to our cottage we heard a wild man ſinging. He made us looke to our ſelves leaſt he ſhould prove an ennemy, but as we have ſeene him, called to him, who came immediately, telling us that he was in purſuite of a Beare ſince morning, and y^{t} he gave him over, having loſt his 2 doggs by the ſame beare. He came wth us to our Cottage, where we mett our companion after having killed one beare, 2 ſtaggs, and 2 mountain catts, being 5 in number. Whilſt the meat was a boyling that wild man ſpoake to me the Algonquin language. I wondred to heare this ſtranger; he tould me that he was taken 2 years agoe; he aſked me concerning the 3 rivers and of Quebuck, who wiſhed himſelfe there, and I ſaid the ſame, though I did not intend it. He aſked me if I loved the french. I inquired [of] him alſo if he loved the Algonquins?

Mary, quoth he, and ſo doe I my owne nation. Then replyed he, Brother, cheare up, lett us eſcape, the 3 rivers are not a farre off. I tould him my 3 comrades would not permitt me, and that they promiſſed my mother to bring me back againe. Then he inquired whether I would live like the Hurrons, who weare in bondage, or have my owne liberty w^th^ the ffrench, where there was good bread to be eaten. Feare not, quoth he, ſhall kill them all 3 this night when they will bee a ſleepe, w^ch^ will be an eaſy matter w^th^ their owne hatchetts.

Att laſt I conſented, conſidering they weare mortall enemys to my country, that had cutt the throats of ſo many of my relations, burned and murdered them. I promiſſed him to ſuccour him in his deſigne. They not underſtanding our language aſked the Algonquin what is that y^t^ he ſaid, but tould them ſome other ſtory, nor did they ſuſpect us in the leaſt. Their belly full, their mind without care, wearyed to the utmoſt of the formoſt day's journey, fell a ſleepe ſecurely, leaning their armes up and downe w^th^out the leaſt danger. Then my wild man puſhed me, thinking I was a ſleepe. He riſes and ſitts him downe by the fire, beholding them one after an other, and taking their armes a ſide, and having the hattchetts in his hand gives me one; to tell the truth I was loathſome to do them miſchif y^t^ never did me any. Yett for the above ſaid reaſons I tooke the hattchet and began the Execution, w^ch^ was ſoone done. My fellow comes to him that was neareſt to the fire (I dare ſay he never ſaw the ſtroake), and I have done y^e^ like to an other, but I hitting him w^th^ the edge of the hattchett could not diſingage [it] preſently, being ſo deep in his head, riſes upon his breaſt, butt fell back ſudainly, making a great noiſe, w^{ch} almoſt waked the third; but my comrade gave him a deadly blow of a hattchet, and preſently after I ſhott him dead.

Then we prepared our ſelves wth all ſpeed, throwing their dead corps, after that y^{e} wild man took off their heads, into the watter. We tooke 3 guns, leaving the 4th, their 2 ſwoords, their hattchetts, their powder and ſhott, and all their porſelaine; we tooke alſo ſome meale and meate. I was ſorry for to have ben in ſuch an incounter, but too late to repent. Wee tooke our journey y^{t} night alongſt the river. The break of day we landed on the ſide of a rock w^{ch} was ſmooth. We carryed our boat and equippage into the wood above a hundred paces from the watter ſide, where we ſtayed moſt ſadly all that day tormented by the Maringoines;[31] we tourned our boat upſide downe, we putt us under it from the raine. The night coming, w^{ch} was y^{e} fiteſt time to leave that place, we goe wthout any noiſe for our ſafty. Wee travelled 14 nights in that maner in great feare, hearing boats paſſing by. When we have perceaved any fire, left off rowing, and went by wth as litle noiſe as could [be] poſſible. Att laſt wth many tournings by lande and by watter, wee came to the lake of St. Peeter's.

We landed about 4 of the clock, leaving our ſkiff in among ruſhes farr out of the way from thoſe that paſſed y^{t} way and doe us injury. We retired into the wood, where we made a fire ſome 200 paces from the river. There we roaſted ſome meat and boyled meale; after, we reſted ourſelves a while from the many labours of the former night.

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[31] *Muſquetos.*

So, having ſlept, my companion awaks firſt, and ſtirrs me, ſaying it was high time that we might by day come to our dweling, of w^ch^ councel I did not approve. [I] tould him the Ennemys commonly weare lurking about the river ſide, and we ſhould doe very well [to] ſtay in that place till ſunnſett. Then, ſaid he, lett us begon, we [are] paſſed all feare. Let us ſhake off the yoake of a company of whelps that killed ſo many french and black-coats, and ſo many of my nation. Nay, ſaith he, Brother, if you come not, I will leave you, and will go through the woods till I ſhall be over againſt the french quarters. There I will make a fire for a ſigne that they may fetch me. I will tell to the Governor that you ſtayed behind. Take courage, man, ſays he. With this he tooke his peece and things. Att this I conſidered how if [I] weare taken att the doore by meere raſhneſſe; the next, the impoſſibility I ſaw to go by myſelfe if my comrad would leave me, and perhaps the wind might riſe, that I could [only] come to the end of my journey in a long time, and that I ſhould be accounted a coward for not daring to hazard myſelfe with him that ſo much ventured for mee. I reſolved to go along through the woods; but the litle conſtancy that is to be expected in wild men made me feare he ſhould [take] to his heels, w^ch^ approved his unfortunate advice; ffor he hath loſt his life by it, and I in great danger have eſcaped by the helpe of the Almighty. I conſent to goe by watter w^th^ him.

In a ſhort time wee came to the lake. The watter very calme and cleare. No liklyhood of any ſtorme. We hazarded to y^e^ other ſide of the lake, thinking ffor more ſecurity. After we paſſed the third part of the lake, I being the foremoſt,

moſt, have perceaved as if it weare a black ſhaddow, w^{ch} proved a real thing. He at this riſes and tells mee y^{t} it was a company of buzards, a kinde of geeſe in that country. We went on, where wee ſoone perceaved our owne fatall blindneſſe, ffor they weare ennemys. We went back againe towards the lande wth all ſpeed to eſcape the evident danger, but it was too late; ffor before we could come to the ruſſhes that weare within halfe a league of the waterſide we weare tired. Seeing them approaching nigher and nigher, we threw the 3 heads in the watter. They meet wth theſe 3 heads, w^{ch} makes them to row harder after us, thinking that we had runn away from their country. We weare ſo neere the lande that we ſaw the bottom of the watter, but yett too deepe to ſtep in. When thoſe cruel inhumans came wthin a muſquett ſhott of us, and fearing leaſt the booty ſhould gett a way from them, ſhott ſeverall times att us, and deadly wounding my comrade, [who] fell dead. I expected ſuch another ſhott. The litle ſkiff was pierced in ſeverall places wth their ſhooting, [ſo] that watter ran in a pace. I defended me ſelfe wth the 2 arms. Att laſt they environed me wth their boats, that tooke me juſt as I was a ſinking. They held up the wild man and threw him into one of their boats and me they brought wth all diligence to land. I thought to die wthout mercy.

They made a great fire and tooke my comrade's heart out, and choped off his head, w^{ch} they put on an end of a ſtick and carryed it to one of their boats. They cutt off ſome of the fleſh of that miſerable, broyled it and eat it. If he had not ben ſo deſperately wounded they had don their beſt to keepe him alive to make him ſuffer the more by bourning him wth ſmall fires; but being wounded in the chin, and [a] bullet gon through the troat, and another in the ſhoulder that broake his arme, making him incurable, they burned ſome parte of his body, and the reſt they left there. That was the miſerable end of that wretch.

Lett us come now to the beginning of my miſeries and calamities that I was to undergo. Whilſt they weare buſſie about my companion's head, the others tyed me ſafe and faſt in a ſtrang maner; having ſtriped me naked, they tyed me above the elbows behind my back, and then they putt a collar about me, not of porcelaine as before, but a rope wrought about my midle. So [they] brought me in that pickle to the boat. As I was imbarqued they aſked mee ſeverall queſtions, I being not able to anſwer, gave me great blowes wth their fiſts. [They] then pulled out one of my nailes, and partly untied me.

What diſpleaſure had I, to have ſeen meſelſe taken againe, being almoſt come to my journey's end, that I muſt now goe back againe to ſuffer ſuch torments, as death was to be expected. Having loſt all hopes, I reſolved alltogether to die, being a folly to think otherwiſe. I was not the [only] one in the clawes of thoſe wolves. Their company was compoſed of 150 men. Theſe tooke about Quebucq and other places 2 frenchmen, one french woman, 17 Hurrons, men as [well as] women. They had Eleven heads w^{ch} they ſayd weare of the Algonquins, and I was the 33rd victime wth thoſe cruels.

The wild men that weare Priſners ſang their fatal ſong, w^{ch} was a mornfull ſong or noiſe. The 12 coulours (w^{ch} weare heads) ſtood out for a ſhew. We priſoners weare ſeparated, one in one boat, one in an other. As for me, I was put into a boat wth a Huron whoſe fingers weare cutt and bourned, and very [few] amongſt them but had the markes of thoſe inhuman devils. They did not permitt me to tarry long wth my fellow priſoner, leaſt I ſhould tell him any news, as I imagine, but ſent me to another boat, where I remained the reſt of y^{e} voyage by watter, w^{ch} proved ſomewhat to my diſadvantage.

In this boat there was an old man, who having examined me, I anſwered him as I could beſt; tould him how I was adopted by ſuch an one by name, and as I was a hunting wth my companions that wildman that was killed came to us, and after he had eaten went his way. In the evening [he] came back againe and found us all a ſleepe, tooke a hattchett and killed my 3 companions, and awaked me, and ſo embarked me and brought me to this place. That old man believed me in ſome meaſure, w^{ch} I perceived in him by his kindneſſe towards me. But he was not able to protect me from thoſe that [had] a will to doe me miſchief. Many ſlandred me, but I tooke no notice.

Some 4 leagues thence they erected cottages by a ſmall river, very difficult to gett to it, for that there is litle watter on a great ſand [bank] a league wide. To this very houre I tooke notice how they tyed their captives, though att my owne coſt. They planted ſeverall poaſtes of y^{e} bigneſſe of an arme, then layd us of a length, tyed us to the ſaid poaſts far a ſunder from one another. Then tyed our knees, our wriſts, and elbows, and our hairs directly upon the crowne of our heads, and then cutt 4 barrs of the bigneſſe of a legge & uſed thus. They tooke 2 for the necke, puting one of each ſide, tying the 2 ends together, ſo that our heads weare faſt in a hole like a trappe; likewayes they did to our leggs. And what tormented us moſt was the Maringoines and great flyes being in abundance; did all night but puff and blow, that by that means we ſaved our faces from the ſting of thoſe ugly creatures; having no uſe of our hands, we are cruelly tormented. Our voyage was laborious and moſt miſerable, ſuffering every night the like miſery.

When we came neere our dwellings we mett ſeverall gangs of men to our greateſt diſadvantage, ffor we weare forced to ſing, and thoſe that came to ſee us gave porcelaine to thoſe that moſt did us injury. One cutt of a finger, and another pluck'd out a naile, and putt the end of our fingers into their bourning pipes, & burned ſeverall parts in our bodyes. Some tooke our fingers and of a ſtick made a thing like a fork, w^th^ w^ch^ [they] gave ſeverall blowes on the back of the hands, w^ch^ cauſed our hands to ſwell, and became att laſt inſenſible as dead. Having ſouffred all theſe crueltyes, w^ch^ weare nothing to that they make uſually ſouffer their Priſoners, we arrived att laſt to the place of execution, w^ch^ is att the coming in to their village, w^ch^ wheere not [long] before I eſcaped very neere to be ſoundly beaten w^th^ ſtaves and fiſts. Now I muſt think to be no leſſe traited by reaſon of the murder of the 3 men, but the feare of death takes away the feare of blowes.

Nineteen of us priſoners weare brought thither, and 2 left behind w^th^ the heads. In this place we had 8 coulours. Who would not ſhake att the ſight of ſo many men, women, and children armed w^th^ all ſorte of Inſtruments: ſtaves, hand Irons, heelſkins wherein they putt halfe a ſcore [of] bullets?

Others had brands, rods of thorne, and all ſuchlike that the Crueltie could invent to putt their Priſoners to greater torments. Heere, no help, no remedy. We muſt paſſe this dangerous paſſage in our extremity w^th^out helpe. He that is the fearfulleſt, or that is obſerved to ſtay the laſt, getts nothing by it butt more blowes, and putt him to more paine. For the meaneſt ſort of people commonly is more cruell to the fearfulleſt then to y^e^ others that they ſee more fearfull, being att laſt to ſuffer chearfuly and w^th^ conſtancy.

They begun to cry to both ſides, we marching one after another, environed w^th^ a number of people from all parts to be witneſſe to that hidious ſight, w^ch^ ſeriouſly may be called the Image of hell in this world. The men ſing their fatall ſong, the women make horrible cryes, the victores cryes of joy, and their wives make acclamations of mirth. In a word, all prepare for the ruine of theſe poore victimes who are ſo tyed, having nothing ſaving only our leggs free, for to advance by litle and litle according [to] the will of him that leades; ffor as he held us by a long rope, he ſtayed us to his will, & often he makes us falle, for to ſhew y^m^ cruelty, abuſing you ſo for to give them pleaſure and to you more torment.

As our band was great, there was a greater crew of people to ſee the priſoners, and the report of my taking being now made, and of the death of the 3 men, w^ch^ afflicted the moſt part of that nation, great many of w^ch^ came through a deſigne of revenge and to moleſt me more then any other. But it was alltogether otherwiſe, for among the tumult I perceaved my father & mother w^th^ their 2 daughters. The mother puſhes in among the Crew directly to mee, and when ſhee was neere enough, ſhee clutches hould of my haire as one deſperat, calling me often by my name; drawing me out of my ranck, ſhee putts me into the hands of her huſband, who then bid me have courage, conducting me an other way home to his Cabban, when he made me ſitt downe. [He] ſaid to me: You ſenſeleſſe, thou was my ſon, and thou rendered thyſelfe enemy, and thou rendered thyſelf enemy, thou loveſt not thy mother, nor thy father that gave thee thy life, and thou notwthſtanding will kill me. Bee merry; Conharraſſan, give him to eate. That was the name of one of ye ſiſters. My heart ſhook wth trembling and feare, wch tooke away my ſtomach. Neverthele ſſe to ſignifie a bould countenance, knowing well a bould generous minde is allwayes accounted among all ſort of nations, eſpecially among wariors, as that nation is very preſumptious and haughty. Becauſe of their magnanimity and victories opposing themſelves into all dangers and incounters what ever, running over the whole land for to make themſelves appeere ſlaining and killing all they meete in exerciſing their cruelties, or elſe ſhewing mercy to whom they pleaſe to give liberty. God gave mee the grace to forgett nothing of my duty, as I tould my father the ſucceſſe of my voyage in the beſt tearme I could, and how all things paſſed, mixturing a litle of their languag wth yt of the Hurrons, wch I learned more fluently then theirs, being longer and more frequently wth the Hurrons.

Every one attentively gave ears to me, hoping by this means to ſave my life. Uppon this heere comes a great number of armed men, enters the Cabban, where finding mee yett tyed wth my cords, ſitting by my parents, made their addreſſes to my father, and ſpak to him very loud. After a while my father made me riſe and delivers me into their hands. My mother ſeeing this, cryes and laments wth both my ſiſters, and I believing in a terrible motion to goe directly on to the place of execution. I muſt march, I muſt yeeld wheere force is predominant att the publique place.

I was conducted where I found a good company of thoſe miſerable wretches, alltogether beaten wth blowes, covered wth blood, and bourned. One miſerable frenchman, yett breathing, having now ben conſumed wth blowes of ſticks, paſt ſo through the hands of this inraged crew, and ſeeing he could [bear] no more, cutt off his head and threw it into the fire. This was the end of this Execrable wofull body of this miſerable.

They made me goe up the ſcaffold where weare 5 men, 3 women, and 2 children captives, and I made the Eleventh. There weare ſeverall ſcaffolds nigh one an other, where weare theſe wretches, who wth dolefull ſingings repleniſhed the heavens wth their Cryes. For I can ſay that an houre before the weather approved very faire, and in an inſtant the weather changed and rayned Extremely. The moſt part retired for to avoid this hayle, and now we muſt expect the full rigour of the weather by the retiration of thoſe perfidious [perſons], except one part of the Band of hell who ſtayed about us for to learn the trade of barbary; ffor thoſe litle devils ſeeing themſelves all alone, continued [a] thouſand inventions of wickedneſſe. This is nothing ſtrang, ſeeing that they are brought up, and ſuck the crueltie from their mother's breſt.

I prolong a litle from my purpoſe of my adventure for to ſay the torments that I have ſeen ſouffred att Coutu, after that they have paſſed the ſallett, att their entering in to the village, and the rencounters that they meet ordinarily in the wayes, as above ſaid. They tie the priſoners to a poaſt by their hands, their backs tourned towards y^e hangman, who hath a bourning fire of dry wood and rind of trees, w^{ch} doth not quench eaſily. They putt into this fire hattchets, ſwords, and ſuch like inſtruments of Iron. They take theſe and quench them on human fleſh. They pluck out their nailes for the moſt part in this ſort. They putt a redd coale of fire uppon it, and when it is ſwolen bite it out wth their teeth. After they ſtop the blood with a brand w^{ch} by litle and litle drawes y^e veines the one after another from off the fingers, and when they draw all as much as they can, they cutt it wth peeces of redd hott Iron; they ſqueeze the fingers between 2 ſtones, and ſo draw the marrow out of the boanes, and when the fleſh is all taken away, they putt it in a diſhfull of bourning ſand. After they tye yo^r wriſt wth a corde, putting two for this effect, one drawing him one way, another of another way. If the ſinews be not cutt wth a ſtick, putting it through & tourning it, they make them come as faſt as they can, and cutt them in the ſame way as the others. Some others cutt peeces of fleſh from all parts of the body & broyle them, gett you to eat it, thruſting them into yo^r mouth, puting into it a ſtick of fire. They breake yo^r teeth wth a ſtoane or clubbs, and uſe the handle of a kettle, and upon this do hang 5 or 6 hattchetts, red hott, w^{ch} they hang about their neck and roaſt yo^r leggs wth brands of fire, and thruſting into it ſome ſticks pointed, wherein they put ledd melted and gunnepowder, and then give it fire like unto artificiall fire, and make the patient gather it by the ſtumps of his remaining fingers. If he cannot ſing they make him quack like a henne.

I ſaw two men tyed to a rope, one att each end, and hang them ſo all night, throwing red coales att them, or bourning ſand, and in ſuch like bourne their feet, leggs, thighs, and breech. The litle ones doe exerciſe themſelves about ſuch cruelties; they deck the bodyes all over wth hard ſtraw, putting in the end of this ſtraw, thornes, ſo leaves them; now & then gives them a litle reſt, and ſometimes gives them freſh watter and make them repoſe on freſh leaves. They alſo give them to eat of the beſt they have that they come to themſelves againe, to give them more torments. Then when they ſee that the patient can no more take up his haire, they cover his head wth a platter made of rind full of bourning ſand, and often getts the platter a fire. In the next place they cloath you wth a ſuit made of rind of a tree, and this they make bourne out on yo^{r} body. They cutt off yo^{r} ſtones and the women play wth them as wth balles. When they ſee y^{e} miſerable die, they open him and pluck out his heart; they drink ſome of his blood, and waſh the children's heads wth the reſt to make them valient. If you have indured all the above ſaid torments patiently and wthout moanes, and have defied death in ſinging, then they thruſt burning blades all along yo^{r} boanes, and ſo ending the tragedie cutt off y^{e} head and putt it on the end of a ſtick and draw his body in quarters w^{ch} they hawle about their village. Laſtly [they] throw him into the watter or leave [him] in the fields to be eaten by the Crowes or doggs.

Now lett me come to our miſerable poore captives that ſtayed all along [through] the raine upon the ſcaffold to the mercy of 2 or 300 rogues that ſhott us wth litle arrowes, and ſo drew out our beards and the haire from thoſe that had any. The ſhowre of rayne being over, all come together againe, and having kindled fires began to burne ſome of thoſe poore wretches. That day they pluck^{t} 4 nailes out of my fingers, and made me ſing, though I had no mind att that time. I became ſpeechleſſe oftentimes; then they gave me watter wherin they boyled a certain herbe that the gunſmiths uſe to polliſh their armes. That liquour brought me to my ſpeech againe. The night being come they made me come downe all naked as I was, & brought to a ſtrang Cottage. I wiſhed heartily it had ben that of my parents. Being come, they tyed me to a poaſt, where I ſtayed a full houre wthout y^{e} leaſt moleſtation.

A woman came there wth her boy, inticed him to cutt off one of my fingers wth a flint ſtoan. The boy was not 4 yeares old. This [boy] takes my finger and begins to worke, but in vaine, becauſe he had not the ſtrength to breake my fingers. So my poore finger eſcaped, having no other hurt don to it but the fleſh cutt round about it. His mother made him ſuck y^{e} very blood that runn from my finger. I had no other torment all that day. Att night I could not ſleepe for becauſe of the great paine. I did eat a litle, and drunk much watter by reaſon of a feaver I caught by the cruel torment I ſuffred.

The next morning I was brought back againe to the ſcaffold, where there were company enough. They made me ſing a new, but my mother came there and made [me] hould my peace, bidding me be cheerfull and that I ſhould not die.

Shee brought mee ſome meate. Her coming comforted me much, but that did not laſt long; ffor heare comes ſeverall old people, one of which being on the ſcaffold, ſatt him downe by me, houlding in his mouth a pewter pipe burning, tooke my thumb and putt it on the burning tobacco, and ſo ſmoaked 3 pipes one after another, w^{ch} made my thumb ſwell, and the nayle and fleſh became as coales. My mother was allwayes by me to comfort me, but ſaid not what I thought. That man having finiſhed his hard worke, but I am ſure I felt it harder to ſuffer it. He trembled, whether for feare or for ſo much action I cannot tell. My mother tyed my fingers wth cloath, and when he was gon ſhee greaſed my haire and combed my haire wth a wooden comb, fitter to combe a horſe's tayle then anything elſe. Shee goes back againe.

That day they ended many of thoſe poore wretches, flinging ſome all alive into the midle of a great fire. They burned a frenchwoman; they pulled out her breaſts and tooke a child out of her belly, w^{ch} they broyled and made the mother eat of it; ſo, in ſhort, [ſhe] died. I was not abuſed all that day till the night. They bourned the ſoales of my feet and leggs. A ſouldier run through my foot a ſwoord red out of the fire, and plucked ſeverall of my nailes. I ſtayed in that maner all night. I neither wanted in the meane while meate nor drinke. I was ſupplied by my mother and ſiſters. My father alſoe came to ſee me & tould me I ſhould have courage. That very time there came a litle boy to gnaw wth his teeth the end of my fingers. There appears a man to cutt off my thumb, and being about it leaves me inſtantly & did no harme, for w^{ch} I was glad. I believe that my father diſſuaded him from it.

A while after my father was gon 3 came to the ſcaffold who ſwore they would me a miſchiefe, as I thinke, for y^{t} he tied his leggs to mine, called for a brand of fire, and layd it between his leggs and mine, and ſings: but by good lucke it was out on my ſide, and did no other effect then bourne my ſkin, but bourned him to ſome purpos. In this poſture I was to follow him, & being not able to hould mee, draweth mee downe. One of the Company Cutt the rope that held us wth his knife, and makes mee goe up againe the ſcaffold and then went their way.

There I ſtayed till midday alone. There comes a multitude of people who make me come downe and led mee into a cottage where there weare a number of ſixty old men ſmoaking tobacco. Here they make mee ſitt downe among them and ſtayed about halfe an houre wthout that they aſked who and why I was brought thither, nor did I much care. For the great torments that I ſouffred, I knew not whether I was dead or alive. And albeit I was in a hott feavor & great pain, I rejoyced att the ſight of my brother, that I have not ſeene ſince my arrivement. He comes in very ſumptuouſly covered wth ſeverall necklaces of porcelaine,[22] & a hattchett in his hand, ſatt downe by the company and caſt an eye on me now and then. Preſently and comes in my father wth a new and long cover, and a new porcelaine about him, wth a hatchett in his hands, likewiſe ſatt downe wth the company. He had a calumet of red ſtoane in his hands, a cake[23] uppon his ſhoulders, that hanged downe his back, and ſo had the reſt of the old men. In that ſame cake are incloaſed all the things in the world, as they tould me often, advertiſing mee that I ſhould [not] diſoblige them in the leaſt nor make them angry, by reaſon they had in their power the ſun, and moone, and y^e^ heavans, and conſequently all the earth. You muſt know in this cake there is nothing but tobacco and roots to heale ſome wounds or ſores; ſome others keepe in it the bones of their deceaſed friends; moſt of them wolves' heads, ſquirrels', or any other beaſt's head. When there they have any debatement among them they ſacrifice to this tobacco, that they throw into the fire, and make ſmoake, of that they puff out of their pipes; whether for peace or adverſity or proſperity or warre, ſuch ceremonies they make very often.

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[22] *Porcelaine*, the French for wampum, or ſhell beads.

[23] *Cake*, meaning a medicine-bag.

My father, taking his place, lights his pipe & ſmoaks as the reſt. They held great ſilence. During this they bring 7 priſoners; to wit, 7 women and 2 men, more [then] 10 children from the age of 3 to 12 years, having placed them all by mee, who as yett had my armes tyed. The others all att liberty, being not tyed, w^ch^ putt me into ſome deſpaire leaſt I ſhould pay for all. Awhile after one of the company riſes and makes a long ſpeech, now ſhewing the heavens w^th^ his hands, and then the earth, and fire. This good man putt himſelfe into a ſweate through the earneſt diſcours. Having finiſhed his panigerique, another begins, and alſo many, one after another.

They gave then liberty to ſome, butt killed 2 children w^th^ hattchetts, and a woman of 50 years old, and threw them out of the cottage (ſaving onely myſelfe) att full liberty. I was left alone for a ſtake, they conteſted together [upon] w^ch^

my father roſe and made a ſpeech wch laſted above an houre, being naked, having nothing on but his drawers and the cover of his head, and putt himſelfe all in a heate. His eyes weare hollow in his head; he appeared to me like [as if] mad, and naming often the Algonquins in their language [that is, Eruata], wch made me believe he ſpoake in my behalfe. In that very time comes my mother, wth two necklaces of porcelaine, one in her armes, and another about her like a belt. As ſoone as ſhee came in ſhee began to ſing and dance, and flings off one of her necklaces in ye midle of the place, having made many tourns from one end to the other. Shee takes the other necklace and gives it mee, then goes her way. Then my brother riſes and holding his hattchett in his hand ſings a military ſong. Having finiſhed [he] departs. I feared much that he was firſt to knock me in the head; and happy are thoſe that can eſcape ſo well, rather then be bourned. My father riſes for a ſecond time and ſings; ſo done, retired himſelfe. I thought all their guifts, ſongs, and ſpeeches ſhould prevaile nothing wth mee.

Thoſe that ſtayed held a councell and ſpoake one to an other very long, throwing tobacco into the fire, making exclamations. Then the Cottage was open of all ſides by thoſe that came to view, ſome of the company retires, and place was made for them as if they weare Kings. Forty ſtaye about me, and nigh 2000 about my cottage, of men, women, and children. Thoſe that went their way retourned preſently. Being ſett downe, ſmoaked againe whileſt my father, mother, brother, and ſiſters weare preſent. My father ſings a while; ſo done, makes a ſpeech, and taking the porcelaine necklace from off me throws it att the feet of an old man, and cutts the cord that held me, then makes me riſe. The joy that I receaved att that time was incomparable, for ſuddenly all my paines and griefs ceaſed, not feeling the leaſt paine. He bids me be merry, makes me ſing, to w^{ch} I conſented w^{th} all my heart. Whilſt I did ſing they hooped and hollowed on all ſids. The old man bid me "ever be cheerfull, my ſon!" Having don, my mother, ſiſters, and the reſt of their friends [ſung] and danced.

Then my father takes me by the arme and leads me to his cabban. As we went along nothing was heard but hooping and hollowing on all parts, biding me to take great courage. My mother was not long after me, w^{th} the reſt of her friends. Now I ſee myſelfe free from death. Their care att this was to give me meate. I have not eaten a bitt all that day, and for the great joy I had conceaved, cauſed me to have a good ſtomach, so that I did eat luſtily. Then my mother begins to cure my ſores and wounds. Then begins my paines to [break out] a new; ffor ſhee cleans my wounds and ſcrapes them w^{th} a knife, and often thruſts a ſtick in them, and then takes watter in her mouth, and ſpouts it to make them cleane. Y^{e} meanwhile my father goes to ſeeke rootes, and my ſiſter chaws them, and my mother applyes them to my ſores as a plaſter. The next day the ſwelling was gone, but worſe then before; but in leſſe then a fortnight my ſores weare healed, ſaving my feete, that kept [me] more then a whole month in my Cabban. During this time my nailes grewed a pace. I remained onely lame of my midle finger, that they have ſqueezed between two ſtoanes. Every one was kind to mee as beforeſaid, and [I] wanted no company to be merry w^{th}.

I

I ſhould [be] kept too long to tell you the particulars that befell me during my winter. I was beloved of my Parents as before. My exerciſe was allwayes a hunting wthout that any gave me ye leaſt injury. My mother kept me moſt brave, and my ſiſters tooke great care of mee. Every moneth I had a white ſhirt, wch my father ſent for from the Flemeings, who weare not a farr off our village. I could never gett leave to goe along wth my brother, who went there very often. Finally, ſeeing myſelfe in the former condition as before, I conſtituted as long as my father and fortune would permitt mee to live there. Dayly there weare military feaſts for the South nations, and others for the Algonquins and for the French. The exclamations, hoopings and cryes, ſongs and dances, ſignifies nothing but the murdering and killing, and the intended victory that they will have the next yeare, wch is in the beginning of Spring. In thoſe feaſts my father heaves up his hattchett againſt the Algonquins. For this effect [he] makes great preparations for his next incamping. Every night [he] never failes to inſtruct and encourage the young age to take armes and to reveng the death of ſo many of their ennemy that lived among the french nation. The deſire that I had to make me beloved, for the aſſurance of my life made me reſolve to offer myſelfe for to ſerve, and to take party wth them. But I feared much leaſt he ſhould miſtruſt me touching his advis to my reſolution. Neverthelеſſe I finding him once of a good humour and on the point of honnour encourages his ſon to break the kettle and take the hattchett and to be gon to the forraigne nations, and that was of courage and of great renowne to ſee the father of one parte and the ſon of another part, & that he ſhould not miſpraiſe if he ſhould ſeperat from him, but that it was the quickeſt way to make the world tremble, & by that means have liberty everywhere by vanquiſhing the mortall enemy of his nation; uppon this I venture to aſke him what I was. [He] preſently anſwers that I was a Iroquoite as himſelfe. Lett me revenge, ſaid I, my kindred. I love my brother. Lett me die wth him. I would die wth you, but you will not becauſe you goe againſt the ffrench. Lett me a gaine goe wth my brother, the priſoners & the heads that I ſhall bring, to the joy of my mother and ſiſters, will make me undertake att my retourne to take up the hattchett againſt thoſe of Quebecq, of the 3 rivers, and Monteroyall in declaring them my name, and that it's I y^{t} kills them, and by that you ſhall know I am yo^{r} ſon, worthy to beare that title that you gave me when you adopted me. He ſett [up] a great crye, ſaying, have great courage, ſon Oninga, thy brother died in the warrs not in the Cabban; he was of a courage not of a woman. I goe to aveng his death. If I die, aveng you mine. That one word was my leave, w^{ch} made me hope that one day I might eſcape, having ſoe great an opportunity; or att leaſt I ſhould have the happineſſe to ſee their country, w^{ch} I heard ſo much recommended by the Iroquoites, who brought wondrous ſtories and the facilitie of killing ſo many men.

Thus the winter was paſt in thoughts and preparing for to depart before the melting of the ſnow, w^{ch} is very ſoone in that Country. I began to ſett my witts together how I ſhould reſolve this my voyage; for my mother oppoſed againſt it mightily, ſaying I ſhould bee loſt in the woods, and that I ſhould gett it [put] off till the next yeare. But at laſt I flattered wth her and diſſembled; beſides, my father had the power in his hands. Shee daring not to deny him any thing becauſe ſhee was not borne in my father's country, but was taken [when] little in ye Huronit's Country. Notwithſtanding [ſhe was] well beloved of her huſband, having lived together more then fourty years, and in that ſpace brought him 9 children, 4 males and 5 females. Two girls died after a while, and 3 ſons killed in the warrs, and one yt went 3 years before wth a band of 13 men to warre againſt a fiery nation wch is farre beyonde the great lake. The 5th had allready performed 2 voyages wth a greate deale of ſucceſſe. My father was a great Captayne in warrs, having ben Commander in all his times, and diſtructed many villages of their Ennemy, having killed 19 men wth his owne hands, whereof he was marked [on] his right thigh for as many [as] he killed. He ſhould have as many more, but that you muſt know yt ye Commander has not amuſed himſelfe to kille, but in the front of his army to encourage his men. If by chance he tooke any priſoners, he calles one of his men and gives him the captives, ſaying that it's honour enough to command the conquerors, and by his example ſhews to the yong men that he has the power as much as the honour. He receaved 2 gunn ſhots and 7 arrows ſhotts, and was runne through the ſhoulders wth a lance. He was aged 3 ſcore years old, he was talle, and of an excellent witt for a wild man.

When our baggage was ready, my father makes a feaſt to wch he invites a number of people, & declares that he was ſorry he had reſolved to go to warre againſt an Ennemy wch was in a cold country, wch hindred him to march ſooner then he would, but willing to ſee his ſonnes before him, and that this banquett was made for his 2 ſons' farewell. Then he tould that his adopted ſon was ready to go wth his owne ſon to be revenged of y^{e} death of their brothers, and deſired the Commander to have a care of us both. This Commander loved us both, ſaid that the one w^{ch} [was] meſelfe ſhould be wth him to the end. If anything ſhould oppoſe he would make me fight him. I was not att home when he ſpoke thoſe words, but my mother toald me it att my retourne. I was a fiſhing by wth my ſiſters & brother. When wee came back wee found all ready, butt wth a heart broken that our mother and ſiſters lett us goe. Few days after I was invited to a military banquett where was y^{e} Captayne, a yong gallant of 20 years old, wth a company of 8, and I made the 10th. We all did ſing and made good cheare of a fatt beare. We gave our things to ſlaves, we carried only our muſquetts. Our kindred brought us a great way. My ſiſter could not forbeare crying, yett tould me to be of a ſtout heart. We tooke att laſt [leave and] bid them adieu. We tooke on our journey over great ſnowes for to come to the great Lake before the Spring. We travelled 7 days through woods and indifferent country, eaſie in ſome places and others difficult. The Rivers weare frozen, w^{ch} made us croſſe wth a great deale of eaſe.

Wee arrived y^{e} 7th day in a village called Nojottga,[34] where we ſtayed 2 days. From thence came a young man wth us. We arrived into another village, Nontageya,[34] where we ſtayed foure days. Wee had allways great preparations, and weare invited

[34] *Nojottga*, or Oneioutga, Oneida. *Nontageya*, Onontaguega, or Onondaga.

invited 9 or tenne times a day. Our bellyes had not tyme to emptie themſelves, becauſe we feeded ſo much, and that what was prepared for us weare ſeverall ſortes, Stagg, Indian corne, thick flower, bears, and eſpecially eels. We have not yett ſearched our baggs wheare our proviſion was. In this place wee mended them. For my part I found in myne 6 pounds of powder and more then 15 pounds of ſhott, 2 ſhirts, a capp, 8 pairs of ſhoes, and wherewth to make a paire of breeches, and about 1000 graines of black and white porcelaine, and my brother as many. Wee had new covers, one to our body, another hung downe from our ſhoulders like a mantle. Every one [had] a ſmall necklace of porcelaine and a collar made wth a thread of nettles to tye the Priſoners. I had a gunne, a hattchett, and a dagger. That was all we had. Our ſlaves brought the packs after us.

After we marched 3 dayes, we came to a village, Sononteeonon,[25] there we layd a night. Y^{e} next day, after a ſmall journey, we came to the laſt village of their confederates. Heere they doe differ in their ſpeech though of [our] nation. It's called Oiongoiconon.[25] Here we ſtay 2 dayes, and ſent away our ſlaves and carryed our bundles ourſelves, going allwayes through the woods. We found great plaines of 2 leagues and a halfe journey wthout a tree. We ſaw there ſtagges, but would not goe out of our way to kill them. We went through 3 villages of this nation neare one another. They admired to ſee a frenchman accompanying wild men, w^{ch} I underſtood by their exclamations. I thought I grewed leane to take litle voyage, but the way ſeemed tedious to all.

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[25] *Sononteeonon*, Tſonnontonan, or Seneca. *Oiongoiconon* is Cayuga.

The raquett alwayes wth the feet and ſometimes wth y^{e} hands, w^{ch} ſeemed to me hard to indure, yett have I not complained. Att the parting of the ſlaves, I made my bundle light as the reſt. We found ſnowes in few places, ſaving where the trees made a ſhaddow, w^{ch} hindred the ſnow to thaw, w^{ch} made us carry the raquetts wth our feete, and ſometimes wth the hands.

After 10 days' march [we completed our journey] through a country covered wth water, and where alſo are mountaines and great plaines. In thoſe plaines wee kill^{d} ſtagges, and a great many Tourquies. Thence we came to a great river of a mile wide w^{ch} was not frozen, w^{ch} made us ſtay there 10 or 12 dayes making ſkiffs of y^{e} rind of walnut trees. We made good cheere and wiſhed to ſtay there longer. We made 3 ſkiffs to hould 3 men, and one to hould two. We imbarked though there weare ice in many places, and yett no hinderance to us going ſmall journeys, fearing leaſt what ſhould befall us. In 4 dayes we came to a lake much frozen; covered in ſome places wth ice by reaſon of the toſſing of the wind, and y^{e} ground all covered wth ſnow. Heere we did our beſt to ſave us from the rigour of y^{e} aire, and muſt ſtay 15 dayes. The wild men admired that y^{e} ſeaſon of the yeare was ſo backward. Att the end the wind changes ſoutherly, w^{ch} made the lake free from Ice and cleare over all the ſkirts of it, wthout either ſnow or ice. There was ſuch a thawing that made y^{e} litle brookes flow like rivers, w^{ch} made us imbarque to wander [over] that ſweet ſea. The weather lovely, the wind fayre, and nature ſatisfied. Tending forwards, ſinging and playing, not conſidering the contrary weather paſt, continued ſo 6 days upon the lake and reſted the nights aſhore.

The more we proceeded in our journey, the more y^e^ pleaſant country and warmer. Ending the lake, we entered into a beautifull ſweet river, a ſtoan-caſt wide. After halfe a day we rid on it, weare forced to bring both barks and equipage uppon our backs to y^e^ next ſtreame of that river. This done above 20 times, hawling our boats after us all laden. We went up that river att leaſt 30 or 40 leagues. Att laſt [it] brought us to a lake of ſome 9 miles in length. Being comed to the higheſt place of the lake, we landed and hid our boats farr enough in the woods, [and] tooke our bundles. We weare 3 dayes going through a great wilderneſſe where was no wood, not ſo much as could make us fire. Then the thickned flower did ſerve us inſtead of meate, mingling it w^th^ watter. We foorded many litle rivers, in ſwiming & ſayling. Our armes, w^ch^ we putt uppon ſome ſticks tyed together of ſuch wood as that deſolat place could afford, to keepe them from the weatt. The evening we came on the ſide of a violent river, uppon w^ch^ we made bridges of trees that we [made] to meet, to go over.

We left this place after being there 3 dayes. We went up that river in 2 dayes; there we killed ſtagges. After we came to a mouth of another river. We made a litle fort, where it was commanded by our captayne to make no noiſe. They deſired me to be very quiet, w^ch^ I obſerved ſtrictly. After refreſhment we imbarked, though unſeaſonably, in the night, for to make ſom diſcovery. Some went one way, ſome another. We went a great way, but not farr off our fort. The next day we meet altogether & made Some Councell, where it was decreed that 2 ſhould go to the furthermoſt part of a ſmall river in a boat, to make a diſcovery, and ſee if there weare tracks of people there, whilſt the other 9 ſhould take notice of a villag, that they knew'd to be nigh, and becauſe it was leſſe danger to make there a diſcovery. The youngeſt of the company and me are pitched [upon] to goe into the river. We tooke the lighteſt boat. It was well, [for] that in ſome places of the river there was not watter enough to carry us. We weare fained to draw the boat after us. I believe not that ever a wild man went that way becauſe of the great number of trees that ſtops the paſſage of the river.

After we have gon the beſt part of y^e day, we found ourſelves att y^e end of a ſmall lake ſome 4 mile in length, and ſeeing the woods weare not ſo thick there as wheare wee paſſed, we hid our boat in ſome buſhes, taking onely our armes along, intending on ſtill to pretend ſome diſcovery. We ſcarce weare in the midle of the lake when we perceave 2 perſons goeing on the watter ſide, att y^e other ſide of the lake; ſo my comrade getts him up a tree to diſcerne better if there weare any more. After he ſtayed there a while [he] comes [down] & tells me y^t he thought they weare 2 women, and that we might goe kill them. Doubtleſſe, ſaid I, if they are women the men are not afarre from them, and we ſhall be forced to ſhoote. Wee are alone, and ſhould runne the hazzard of 2 women for to be diſcovered. Our breethren alſo would be in danger that knowes nothing. Moreover it 's night; what doſt thou intend to doe? You ſay well, replyes he; lett us hide ourſelves in y^e wood, for we cannot goe downe in the river in the night time. Att breake of day we will [goe] back to our companions where we will finde them in the fort.

Here we came w^th^out any proviſions, where we muſt lie under a rotten tree. That night it rayned ſadly. We weare wett; but a naturall Exerciſe is good fire. We weare in our boat early in the morning, and w^th^ great diligence we came back better then we went up, for the river grewed mighty high by reaſon of ſo much that fell of raine. I will not omitt a ſtrange accident that befell us as we came. You muſt know y^t^ as we paſt under the trees, as before mentioned, there layd on one of the trees a ſnake w^th^ foure feete, her head very bigg, like a Turtle, the noſe very ſmall att the end, the necke of 5 thumbs wide, the body about 2 feet, and the tayle of a foot & a halfe, of a blackiſh collour, onto a ſhell ſmall and round, w^th^ great eyes, her teeth very white but not long. That beaſt was a ſleepe upon one of the trees under w^ch^ wee weare to goe; neither of us ever ſeeing ſuch a creature weare aſtoniſhed. We could not tell what to doe. It was impoſſible to carry our boat, for the thickneſſe of the wood; to ſhoot att her wee would att leaſt be diſcovered, beſides it would trouble our Company. Att laſt we weare reſolved to goe through att what coſt ſoever, and as we weare under that helliſh beaſt, ſhee ſtarted as ſhee awaked, and w^th^ that fell'^d^ downe into our boat, there weare herbes that ſerved [to ſecure] us from that dreadfull animal. We durſt not ventur to kill her, for feare of breaking of our boat. There is the queſtion who was moſt fearfull? As for me, I quaked. Now ſeeing ſhee went not about to doe us hurt, and y^t^ ſhee was fearfull, we lett her [be] quiet, hoping ſhortly to land and to tourne upſid downe of our boat to be rid of ſuch a devill. Then my comrad began to call it, and before we weare out of the litle river our feare was over; ſo we reſolved to bring her to the fort, and when once arrived att y^e great river, nothing but croſſe over it to be neare our fort. But in the mean while a ſquirrell made us good ſpoart for a quarter of an houre. The ſquirrell would not leap into the water; did but runne, being afraid of us, from one end of the boat to the other; every time he came nearer, the ſnake opened her wide mouth & made a kind of a noiſe, & roſe up, having her 2 fore feet uppon the ſide of the boat, w^{ch} perſuaded us that ſhee would leave us. We leaned on that ſide of the boat, ſo wth our owers thruſted her out; we ſeeing her ſwime ſo well, haſted to kill her wth our owers, w^{ch} ſhee had for her paines.[36] The ſquirrell tooke the flight, ſoe we went, longing to be wth our comrades to tell them of what we have ſeene. We found one of our company watching for us att the ſide of a woode, for they weare in feare leaſt wee ſhould be taken, & expected us all night long. As for their part they neither have ſeen nor heard anything. Wherefore reſolved to goe further, but the news we brought them made them alter their reſolution. Wee layd all night in our fort, where we made good cheare and great fires, fearing nothing, being farr enough in the wood.

The next day before the breaking of the day we foorded y^e river, & leaving our 3 boats in the wood, went a foot ſtraight towards the place where we have ſeene the 2 perſons; & before we came to the lake we tooke notice of ſome freſh trakes w^{ch} made us look to ourſelves, and followed the trakes, w^{ch} brought us to a ſmall river, where no ſooner came but we ſaw a woman loaden wth wood, w^{ch} made us believ that ſome cottage or village was not afar off. The Captaine alone takes notice of the place where abouts the diſcovery was, who ſoone brought us [to ſee] y^{t} there weare 5 men & 4 women a fiſhing. We wagged [ſic] att this the ſaffeſt [way] to come unawarre uppon them, and like ſtarved doggs or wolves devoured thoſe poore creatures who in a moment weare maſſacred. What we gott by this was not much, onely ſtagges' ſkins wth ſome guirdles made of goate's hair, of their owne making. Theſe weare in great eſtime among our wild men. Two of ours goes to the cabban w^{ch} was made of ruſhes, where they founde an old woman. They thought it charity to ſend her into the other world, wth two ſmall children whome alſo they killed; ſo we left that place, giving them to the fiſhes their bodyes. Every one of us had his head, and my brother two; our ſhare being conſiderable [we] went on along the river till we came to a ſmall lake. Not deſiring to be diſcovered, we found a faire road cloſe by a wood, withtooke ourſelves out of it wth all haſte, and went towards a village. There we came by night, where we viſited the wilderneſſe to find out a ſecure place for ſecurity to hide ourſelves; but [finding] no conveniencies we [went] into the wood in a very cleare place. Heere we layd downe uppon our bellies. We did eat, among other things, the fiſh we gott in y^{e} cabban of the fiſhermen. After diſpatching one of y^{e} Company bouldly into the village, being thirſty after eating, for heere we had no water, [which] brings us [ſo] that we are all very quiett. The great deſire we had to catch and take made us to controule the Buiſſineſſe.

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[36] Radiſſon's deſcription of this reptile has been ſhown to one of the moſt eminent herpetologiſts in America, who writes that "no ſuch reptile has ever been deſcribed by ſcientific writers."

Early in the morning we came to the ſide of y^{e} wilderneſſe, where we layd in an ambuſh, but could ſee nobody y^{t} morning. Att two of the clock in the after non we ſee 20, as well men as women, a great way from us. We went to the wood, whence we perceived many att worke in y^{e} fields. Att evening [they] paſſed by very nigh us, but they neither ſee nor perceived us. They went to cutt wood; whilſt they weare att worke there comes foure men and three women, that tooke notice of our ambuſh. This we could not avoid, ſo weare forced to appeare to their ruine. We tooke the 3 women and killed 2 men. The other 2 thought to eſcape, but weare ſtayed wth our peeces; the other 2 that weare aworking would runne away, but one was taken, the other eſcaped. The news was brought over all thoſe parts. Thence we runne away wth our 4 priſoners and the 4 new heads wth all ſpeed. The women could not goe faſt enough, and therefore killed them after they went a whole night; their corps we threwed into the river; heere we found a boat w^{ch} ſerved us to goe over. We marched all that day wthout any delay; being come to an open field we hid ourſelves in buſhes till y^{e} next day. We examined our Priſoners, who tould us no news; non could underſtand them, although many Huron words weare in their language. In this place we perceived 2 men a hunting afarre off; we thought [it] not convenient to diſcover ourſelves, leaſt we ſhould be diſcovered and paſſe our aime. We tooke another day, 2 before and y^{e} reſt after, y^{e} priſoners in the midle. We ſpeedily went y^{e} reſt of y^{e} day through a burned country, and the trees blowne downe wth ſome great windes. The fire over came all, over 15 leagues in length and 10 in breadth. We layd in the very midle of that country upon a faire ſandy place where we could ſee 3 or 4 leagues off round about us, and being ſecure we made the priſoners ſing w^ch^ is their Acconroga before death. There we made a litle fire to make our Kettle boyle a tourkey, w^th^ ſome meale that was left. Seeing no body perſued, we reſolved to goe thence before daylight to ſeeke for more booty. We ſtayed 14 nights before we turned back to y^e^ village, during w^ch^ time we mett w^th^ nothing, and having gon on all ſides w^th^ great paines w^th^out victualls. Att laſt we came to kill 2 Stagges, but did not ſuffice 12 of us. We weare forced to gather the dung of the ſtagges to boyle it w^th^ y^e^ meat, w^ch^ made all very bitter. But good ſtomachs make good ſavour. Hunger forced us to kill our Priſoners, who weare chargeable in eating our food, for want of w^ch^ have eaten the fleſh. So by that means we weare freed from the trouble.

The next day we came neere a Village. Att our coming we killed a woman w^th^ her child, & ſeeing no more for us that way we tourned backe againe for feare of purſueing, and reſolved to goe backe to y^e^ firſt village that was 3 days' journey; but on the way we mett w^th^ 5 and 20 or 30 men and women, who diſcovered us, w^ch^ made [us] go to it. They fought & defended themſelves luſtily; but [there is] no reſiſting the Strongeſt party, for our guns were a terrour to them, and made them give over. During the fight the women ranne away. Five of the men weare wounded w^th^ arrowes and foure eſcaped, but he that was ſent w^th^ me att firſt to make a diſcovery was horribly wounded w^th^ 2 arrowes and a blow of a club on the head. If he had ſtuck to it as we, he might proceed better. We burned him w^th^ all ſpeed, that he might not languiſh long, to putt ourſelves in ſafty.

We killed 2 of them, & 5 priſoners wee tooke, and came away to where we left our boats, where we arrived wthin 2 days wthout reſting, or eating or drinking all ye time, ſaveing a litle ſtagge's meate. We tooke all their booty, wch was of 2 ſacks of Indian corne, ſtagges' ſkins, ſome pipes, ſome red and green ſtoanes, and ſome tobacco in powder, wth ſome ſmall loaves of bread, and ſome girdles, garters, necklaces made of goats' haire, and some ſmall coyne of that country, ſome bowes and arrowes, and clubbs well wrought. The tournes of their heads weare of ſnakes' ſkin wth bears' pawes. The hayre of ſome of them very long, & all proper men. We went on the other ſide of ye river ye ſooneſt we could, and came to our fort. After we looked about us leaſt we ſhould be ſurpriſed, and perceiving nothing, we went about to gett meat for our wants & then to ſleepe.

Att midnight we left that place. Six of us tooke a boate, 5 an other, and 2 the litle one. We row the reſt of the night wth all ſtrength, & ye breaking of ye day hid ourſelves in very long ruſhes & our boats. The litle boat went att the other ſide of the river, thoſe hid it in the wood. One of them went up a tree to ſpie about, in caſe he could perceive any thing, to give notice to his comrades, & he was to come within ſight of us to warne us. We weare in great danger going downe ye ſtreame of that river in the night time. We had trouble enough to carry all our baggage wthout the leaſt noiſe. Being come to the end of the river wch empties it ſelfe into a lake of ſome 8 or 9 leagues in compaſſe, we went into a ſmall river to kill ſalmons, as in deed we tooke great many wth ſtaves, and ſo Sturgeons, of wch we made proviſion for a long while. Att laſt finding our ſelves out of all feare

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& danger, we went freely a hunting about the lake, where we tarried 3 dayes, and 2 of our Company mett w^th^ 2 women that runned away from the Sanoutin's country, w^ch^ is of y^e^ Iroquoit nation. Thoſe poore creatures having taken ſo much paines to ſett themſelves att liberty to goe to their native country, found themſelves beſett in a greater ſlavery then before, they being tyed [and] brought to us.

The next day we went from thence w^th^ y^e^ 5 priſoners & the 22 heads. So much for the litleneſſe of our boats as for the weight we had to putt upon them, being in danger, w^ch^ made us make the more haſt to y^e^ place where we intended to make new boats. For 9 days we went through dangerous places w^ch^ weare like ſo many precipices w^th^ horrible falling of watters. We weare forced to carry our boats after y^e^ ſame maner as before, w^th^ great paines. We came att laſt to a lake where we contrived other boats, and there we parted our acquiſited booty, and then each had care of his owne. We ordered the biggeſt boat ſhould hould 4 men and 2 priſoners; the next 3 men and y^e^ 2 women y^t^ laſt weare taken; the 3d ſhould hould 3 and y^e^ other priſoner. My brother and I had a man & woman w^th^ 4 heads to our ſhare, and ſo the reſt accordingly w^th^out diſpute or noiſe.

We wandered ſeverall dayes on that lake. It was a moſt delightfull place, and a great many iſlands. Here we killed great many bears. After we came to a moſt delightfull place for the number of ſtagges that weare there. Thence into a ſtraight river. From thence weare forced to make many carriages through many ſtony mountains, where we made ſeverall trappes for caſtors. We tooke above 200 caſtors there, and fleaced off the beſt ſkins. There weare ſome ſkins ſo well dreſſed that [they] held the oyle of beares as pure bottles. During that time we mett ſeverall huntſmen of our country; ſo we heard news of our friends. Only our father was not yett retourned from the warrs againſt the french and algonquins. We left our ſmall boats, that weare purpoſely confected for our hunting, & tooke our great boats that could carry us and all our luggage.

We went up the ſame river againe, not w^th^out great labour. Att laſt w^th^ much ado we arrived at the landing place where wee made a ſtay of 4 days; where many Iroquoites women came, and among others my 2 ſiſters, that received me w^th^ great joy, w^th^ a thouſand kindneſſes and guifts, as you may think. I gave them the 2 heads that I had, keeping the woman for my mother, to be her ſlave. There was nothing but ſinging & dancing out of meere joy for our ſafe retourne. I had 20 caſtors for my ſhare, w^th^ 2 ſkins full of oyle of beare and another full of oriniack and ſtagge's greaſe. I gave to each of my ſiſters 6 ſtagges' ſkins to make them coats. I kept the greaſe for my mother, to whome it is convenient to give what is neceſſary for the family. We made our ſlaves carry all our booty, & went on to litle journeys through woods w^th^ eaſe, becauſe the woods weare not thick and the earth very faire and plaine. All the way the people made much of me, till we came to the village, and eſpecially my 2 ſiſters, that in all they ſhewed their reſpects, giveing me meate every time we reſted ourſelves, or painting my face or greaſing my haire or combing my head. Att night they tooke the paines to pull off my ſtokins, & when I ſupped they made me lay downe by them and cover me w^th^ their coats, as if y^e^ weather had ben cold.

This voyage being ended, albeit I came to this village, & twice wth feare & terror, the 3d time notwithſtanding wth joy & contentment. As we came neare the village, a multitude of people came to meete us wth great exclamations, and for y^{e} moſt part for my ſake, biding me to be cheerfull & qualifying me dodcon, that is, devil, being of great veneration in that country to thoſe that ſhew any vallour. Being arrived wthin halfe a league of y^{e} village, I ſhewed a great modeſty, as uſually warriors uſe to doe. The whole village prepares to give the ſcourge to y^{e} captives, as you [have] heard before, under w^{ch} I myſelfe I was once to undergoe. My mother comes to meet mee, leaping & ſinging. I was accompanied wth both [of] my ſiſters. Shee takes the woman ſlave y^{t} I had, and would not that any ſhould medle wth her. But my brother's priſoner, as the reſt of y^{e} captives, weare ſoundly beaten. My mother accepted of my brother's 2 heads. My brother's priſoner was burned y^{e} ſame day, and y^{e} day following I received the ſallery of my booty, w^{ch} was of porcelaine necklaces, Tourns of beads, pendants, and girdles.

There was but banqueting for a while. The greateſt part of both young men & women came to ſee me, & y^{e} women y^{e} choiceſt of meats, and a moſt dainty and cordiall bit w^{ch} I goe to tell you; doe not long for it, is the beſt that is among them. Firſt when y^{e} corne is greene they gather ſo much as need requireth, of w^{ch} leaves they preſerve the biggeſt leaves for y^{e} ſubjeĉt y^{t} followes. A dozen more or leſſe old women meet together alike, of whome the greateſt part want teeth, and ſeeth not a jott, and their cheeks hange downe like an old hunting-dogg, their eyes full of watter and bloodſhott. Each takes an eare of corne and putts in their mouths, w^{ch} is properly as milke, chawes it, and when their mouths are full, ſpitts it out in their hands, w^{ch} poſſibly they waſh not once one yeare; so that their hands are white inſide by reaſon of y^{e} greaſe that they putt to their haire & rubbing of it wth y^{e} inſide of their hands, w^{ch} keeps them pretty clean, but the outſide in the rinkneſſe of their rinkled hands there is a quarter of an ounze of filth and ſtinking greaſe.

And ſo their hands being full of that mince meate minced wth their gumms and [enough] to fill a diſh. So they chaw cheſtnutts; then they mingle this wth bear's greaſe or oyle of flower (in french we call it Tourne Sol) wth their hands. So made a mixture, they tye the leaves att one end & make a hodgepot & cover it wth the ſame leaves and tye the upper end ſo that what is wthin theſe leaves becomes a round ball, w^{ch} they boile in a kettle full of watter or brouth made of meate or fiſh. So there is the deſcription of the moſt delicious bitt of the world. I leave you taſte of their Salmi gondy, w^{ch} I hope to tell you in my following diſcourſes of my other voyages in that country, and others that I frequented the ſpace of tenne years.

To make a period of this my litle voyage. After I ſtayed awhile in this village wth all joy & mirth, for feaſts, dances, and playes out of meere gladneſſe for our ſmall victorious company's hapy retourne, ſo after that their heads had ſufficiently danced, they begin to talke [of going] to warre againſt the hollanders. Moſt of us are traited againe for the caſtors we beſtowed on them. They reſolve unanimouſly to goe on their deſigne. Every thing ready, we march along.

The next day we arrived in a ſmall brough[87] of the hollanders, where we maſters them, wthout that thoſe beere-bellies had the courage to frowne att us. Whether it was out of hope of lucre or otherwiſe, we wth violence tooke the meate out of their potts, and opening their coubards [cupboards] we take and eat what we [can] gett. For drinking of their wine we weare good fellowes. So much that they fought wth ſwords among themſelves wthout the leaſt offer of any miſdeed to me. I drunk more then they, but more ſoberly, letting them make their quarrells wthout any notice.

The 4th day we come to the fort of Orange, wher we weare very well received, or rather our Caſtors, every one courting us; and was nothing but pruins and reaſins and tobbacco plentifully, and all for ho, ho, wch is thanks, adding *nianonnha*, thanke you. We went from houſe to houſe. I went into the fort wth my brother, and have not yett ben knowne a french. But a french ſouldier of the fort ſpeaks to me in Iroquois language, & demanded if I was not a ſtranger, and did veryly believe I was french, for all yt I was all dabbled over wth painting and greaſed. I anſwered him in ye ſame language, that no; and then he ſpeaks in ſwearing, deſiring me [to tell him] how I fell in the hands of thoſe people. And hearing him ſpeake french, amazed, I anſwered him, for wch he rejoyced very much. As he embraces me, he cryes out wth ſuch a ſtirre that I thought him ſenſeleſſe. He made a ſhame for all that I was wild but to bluſh red. I could be no redder then what they painted me before I came there. All came about me, ffrench as well as duch, every one makeing [me] drink out of the bottles, offering me their ſervice; but my time yett was not out, ſo that I wanted not their ſervice, for the onely rumour of my being a frenchman was enough. The flemiſh women drawed me by force into their houſes, ſtriving who ſhould give, one bread, other meate, to drinke and to eate, and tobacco. I wanted not for thoſe of my nation, Iroquoiſe, who followed me in a great ſquadroon through the ſtreets, as if I had bin a monſter in nature or a rare thing to be ſeen.

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[87] *Brough* probably means borough, uſed, as the French applied it to "bourgade," for a town of Indians or whites.

I went to ſee the Governor, & talked wth me a long time, and tould him the life y^{t} I lead, of w^{ch} he admired. He offred me to buy me from them att what priſe ſo ever, or elſe ſhould ſave me, w^{ch} I accepted not, for ſeverall reaſons. The one was for not to be behoulding to them, and y^{e} other being loathſome to leave ſuch kind of good people. For then I began to love my new parents that weare ſo good & ſo favourable to me. The 3^{d} reaſon was to watch a better opportunity for to retyre to the french rather then make y^{t} long circuit w^{ch} after I was forced to doe for to retyre to my country more then 2,000 leagues; and being that it was my deſtiny to diſcover many wild nations, I would not to ſtrive againſt deſtinie. I remitted myſelfe to fortune and adventure of time, as a thing ordained by God for his greateſt glorie, as I hope it will prove. Our treatis being done, overladend wth bootyes abundantly, we putt ourſelves in the way that we came to ſee againe our village, and to paſſe that winter wth our wives, and to eat wth them our Cagaimtie in peece, hoping that nobody ſhould trouble us during our wintering, and alſo to Expect or finde our fathers retourning home.

Leaving that place, many cryed to ſee me among a company of wolves, as that ſouldier tould me who knowed me yᵉ firſt houre; and the poore man made yᵉ tears come to my eyes. The truth is, I found many occaſions to retire for to ſave me, but have not yett ſouffred enough to have merited my deliverence. In 2 dayes' journey we weare retourned to our cabbans, where every one of us rendered himſelf to his deareſt kindred or maſter. My ſiſters weare charged of porcelaine, of wᶜʰ I was ſhure not to faile, for they weare too liberall to mee and I towards them. I was not 15 dayes retourned, but that nature itſelfe reproached me to leade ſuch a life, remembering the ſweet behaviour and mildneſſe of the french, & conſidered wᵗʰ meſelfe what end ſhould I expect of ſuch a barbarous nation, enemy to God and to man. The great effect yᵗ yᵉ flemings ſhewed me, and the litle ſpace was from us there; can I make that journey one day? The great belief that yᵉ people had in me ſhould make them not to miſtruſt me, & by that I ſhould have greater occaſion to ſave me wᵗʰout feare of being purſued.

All theſe reaſons made one deliberat to take a full reſolution, wᵗʰout further delay, of ſaving meſelfe to the flemings; ffor I could be att no ſafty among ſuch a nation full of reveng. If in caſe the ffrench & algonquins defeats yᵗ troupe of theirs, then what ſpite they will have will reveng it on my boanes; ffor where is no law, no faith to undertake to goe to yᵉ ffrench. I was once interrupted, nor have I had a deſire to venture againe for yᵉ ſecond time. I ſhould delight

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to be broyled as before in pitifull torments. I repented of a good occaſion I lett ſlippe, finding meſelfe in the place wth offers of many to aſſiſt me. But he that is of a good reſolution muſt be of ſtrong hopes of what he undertakes; & if the dangers weare conſidered w^{ch} may be found in things of importancy, you ingenious men would become cooks. Finally, wthout expecting my father's retourne, putting away all feare & apprehenſion, I conſtituted to deliver meſelfe from their hands at what ever rate it would come too. For this effect I purpoſed to ſaine to goe a hunting about the brough; & for to diſſemble the better, I cutt long ſticks to make handles for a kind of a ſword they uſe, that thereby they might not have the leaſt ſuſpition.

One day I tooke but a ſimple hattchett & a knife, if occaſion preſented to cutt ſome tree, & for to have more defence, if unhappily I ſhould be rencountred, to make them believe y^{t} I was loſt in the woods. Moreover, as the whole nation tooke me for proud, having allways great care to be guarniſhed wth porcelaine, & that I would fly away like a beggar, a thing very unworthy, in this deliberation I ventured. I inquired [of] my brother if he would keepe me company. I knewed that he never thought, ſeeing that he was courting of a young woman, who by the report of many was a baſtard to a flemiſh. I had no difficulty to believe, ſeeing that the colour of her hayre was much more whiter then that of the Iroquoits. Nevertheleſſe, ſhee was of a great familie. I left them to their love. In ſhorte, that wthout any proviſion I tooke journey through the foreſts guided by fortune. No difficulty if I could keepe the highway, w^{ch} is greatly beatten wth the great concours of y^{t} people y^{t} comes

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& goes to trade wth the flemings; but to avoid all encounters I muſt prolong a farre off. Soe being aſſiſted by the beſt hope of y^{e} world, I made all diligence in the meene while that my mother nor kindred ſhould miſtruſt me in the leaſt.

I made my departure att 8 of the clock in the morning the 29th 8^{bre}, 1663 [1653]. I marched all that journey wthout eating, but being as accuſtomed to that, wthout ſtaying I continued my cours att night. Before the breaking of the day I found myſelfe uncapable becauſe of my feebleneſſe and faintneſſe for want of food and repoſe after ſuch conſtraint. But the feare of death makes vertu of neceſſity. The morning commanded me to goe, for it 's faire and could ayre, w^{ch} [was] ſomewhat advantageous to keepe [me] more cheerfull. Finally y^{e} reſolution reterning my courage, att 4 of y^{e} clocke att evening, y^{e} next daye I arrived in a place full of trees cutt, w^{ch} made mee looke to myſelfe, fearing to approach y^{e} habitation, though my deſigne was ſuch. It is a ſtrange thing y^{t} to ſave this life they abhorre what they wiſh, & deſire w^{ch} they apprehend. Approaching nigher and nigher untill I perceived an opening y^{t} was made by cutting of wood where was one man cutting ſtill wood, I went nearer and called him. [He] incontinently leaves his work & comes to me, thinking I was Iroquoiſe. I ſaid nothing to him to y^{e} contrary. I kept him in y^{t} thought, promiſſing him to treat wth him all my caſtors att his houſe, if he ſhould promiſe me there ſhould be non of my brother Iroquoiſe there, by reſon we muſt be liberall to one another. He aſſured me there was non then there. I tould him that my caſtors were hidden and that I ſhould goe for them to-morrow to-morrow. So ſatisfied [he] leads me to his cabban & ſetts before me what good cheare he had, not deſiring to looſe time becauſe the affaire concerned me much. I tould him I was ſavage, but that I lived awhile among the ffrench, & that I had ſomething valuable to communicate to the governor. That he would give me a peece of paper and Ink and pen. He wondered very much to ſee that, what he never ſaw before don by a wildman. He charges himſelf wth my letter, wth promiſe that he ſhould tell it to nobody of my being there, and to retourne the ſooneſt he could poſſible, having but 2 litle miles to the fort of Orange.

In the meane while of his abſence ſhee ſhews me good countenance as much as ſhee could, hoping of a better imaginary profit by me. Shee aſked me if we had ſo much libertie wth the ffrench women to lye wth them as they; but I had no deſire to doe anything, ſeeing myſelfe ſo inſnared att death's door amongſt the terrible torments, but muſt ſhew a better countenance to a worſe game. In the night we heard ſome wild men ſinging, w^{ch} redoubled my torments and apprehenſion, w^{ch} inticed me to declare to that woman that my nation would kill [me] becauſe I loved the ffrench and y^{e} flemings more than they, and that I reſolved hereafter to live wth the flemings. Shee perceiving my reaſon hid me in a corner behind a ſack or two of wheat. Nothing was to me but feare. I was ſcarcely there an houre in y^{e} corner, but the flemings came, 4 in number, whereof that french man [who] had knowne me y^{e} firſt, who preſently getts me out & gives me a ſuite y^{t} they brought purpoſely to diſguiſe me if I chanced to light upon any of y^{e} Iroquoits. I tooke leave of my landlady & landlord, yett [it]

[it] grieved me much that I had nothing to beſtow upon them but thanks, being that they weare very poore, but not ſo much [ſo] as I.

I was conducted to the fort of Orange, where we had no incounter in y^e^ way, where I have had the honnour to ſalute the Governor, who ſpoake french, and by his ſpeech thought him a french man. The next day he cauſed an other habit to be given me, w^th^ ſhoos & ſtokins & alſo linnen. A miniſter that was a Jeſuit[39] gave me great offer, alſo a Marchand, to whom I ſhall ever have infinit obligations, although they weare ſatisfied when I came to france att Rochel. I ſtayed 3 dayes incloſed in y^e^ fort & hidden. Many came there to ſearch me, & doubt not but my parents weare of y^e^ party. If my father had ben there he would venture hard, & no doubt but was troubled att it, & ſo was my mother, & my parents who loved me as if I weare their owne naturall Son. My poore ſiſters cryed out & lamented through y^e^ town of y^e^ flemings, as I was tould they called me by my name, ffor they came there the 3^d^ day after my flight. Many flemings wondered, & could not perceive how thoſe could love me ſo well; but the pleaſure cauſed it, as it agrees well w^th^ the Roman proverbe, "doe as they doe." I was imbarked by the governor's order; after taking leave, and thanks for all his favours, I was conducted to Menada, a towne faire enough for a new country, where after ſome 3 weekes I embarked in one of their ſhipps for holland, where we arrived after many boiſterous winds and ill weather, and, after ſome ſix weeks ſayle and ſome days, we landed att Amſterdam ye 4th of January, 1664 [1654]. Some days after I imbarked myſelfe for france and came to Rochelle well & ſafe, not without blowing my fingers many times as well as I [had] done before [when] I arrived in holland. I ſtayed till ſpring, expecting ye tranſporte of a ſhippe for new france.

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[39] "A miniſter that was a Jeſuit." This was the Jeſuit father, Joſeph Noncet. See Introduction, page 3.

The Second Voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits.

The 15th day of may I embarked in a fiſherboat to go for peerce Iſland, wch is 6 ſcore leagues off Quebecq, being there arrived the 7th of may. I ſearch diligently ye means poſſible for to end my voyage & render meſelfe neere my naturall parents & country people. Att laſt I found an occaſion to goe by ſome ſhallops & ſmall boats of ye wilderneſſe, which went up as farre as the ffrench habitation, there to joyne wth ye Algonquins & Mountaignaies to warre agst the Iroquoits from all times, as their hiſtories mentions. Their memory is their Chronicle, for it [paſſes] from father to ſon, & aſſuredly very excellent for as much as I know & many others has remarked. I embarked into one of their ſhallops & had the wind favorable for us N. E. In 5 dayes came to Quebecq, the firſt dwelling place of ye ffrench. I mean not to tell you the great joy I perceivd in me to ſee thoſe perſons that I never thought to ſee more, & they in like maner wth me thought I was dead long ſince. In my abſence peace was made betweene the french & ye Iroquoits, wch was ye reaſon I ſtayed not long in a place. The yeare before, the

French began a new plantation[29] in the upper Country of y^e^ Iroquoits, w^ch^ is diſtant from the Low Iroquois Country ſom fourſcore leagues, where I was priſoner, & been in the warrs of that country. I tooke great notice of it, as I mentioned in my formeſt voyage, w^ch^ made me have mind to goe thither againe, by y^e^ reaſon peace was concluded among them.

Friends, I muſt confeſſe I loved thoſe poore people entirely well; moreover, nothing was to be feared by reaſon of the great diſtance w^ch^ cauſes a difference in their ſpeech, yett they underſtand one another. At that very time the Reverend fathers Jeſuits embarked themſelves for a ſecond time to dwell there and teach Chriſtian doctrin. I offered myſelfe to them, and was, as their cuſtome is, kindly accepted. I prepare meſelfe for the journey, w^ch^ was to be in June. You muſt know that the Hurrons weare contained in the article of peace, but not the Algonquins, w^ch^ cauſed more difficulty; for thoſe Iroquoits who imbarqued us durſt not come downe the 3 rivers where the french ſhould embarque, becauſe it is the dwelling place of y^e^ Algonquin. To remedy this the ffrench and the barbarrs that weare to march, muſt come to Mont Royall, the laſt french inhabitation, in ſhalopps.

It will not be amiſſe to leave the following of y^e^ voyage for to repeat the reaſons why thoſe poor hurrons ventured themſelves into their hands, who have bin ennemy one to another all their life time, and that naturally. You muſt know that the Hurrons, ſo called by the ffrench, have a buſh of a hair riſed up artificially uppon the heads like to a cock's comb. Thoſe people, I ſay, weare 20 or 30,000 by report of many not 20 years ago. Their dwelling is neere the uper lake, ſo called by name of the ffrench. That people tell us of their pedegree from y^e beginning, that their habitation above the Lake, many years agoe, and as they increaſed, many, great many, began to ſearch out another country. For to tend towards the South they durſt not, for y^e multitude of people that was there, and beſides ſome of their owne nations had againſt them. Then [they] reſolved to goe to the north parts, for weſtward there was much watter, w^{ch} was wthout end. Moreover many inhabitants, monſtruous for the greatneſſe of body. We will ſpeake about this in another place more att large, where will give an exact account of what came to our knowledge dureing our travells, and the land we have diſcovered ſince. If eaſtward, they had found y^e Iroquoits who poſſeſſed ſome parts of the river of Canada, and their dwelling was where Quebecq is ſituated, and about that place, & att y^e upper end of Montmerency 2 leagues from Quebecq, where was a great village where now is ſeene a deſolat country, that is, for woods and foreſts, nor more nor leſſe then what ſmall buſhes nigh the river's ſide in the place called the Cape de Magdelaine. It's ſuch a country that the ffrench calls it y^e burned country 20 miles about, and in many places the ſame is to be ſeene where there weare foreſts.

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[29] "Began a new plantation," at Onondaga.

So ſeeing y^t y^e north regions weare not ſo peopled, they purſued [their] route of that way, and for y^e purpoſe provided themſelves proviſion for a twelvemonth to live, wth all their equipage imbarqued in y^e begining of the Spring.

After that they paſſed great wayes, coming to a lake w^{ch} conducts them into a great river,[40] w^{ch} river leads them to a great extent of ſalt watter; ſo as they being good fiſhers want no fiſh. They coaſted this great watter for a long time, finding allways ſome litle nation whoſe language they knew not, haveing great feare of one another. Finally, finding but a fearfull country full of mountains and rocks, they made great boats that might hould ſome 30 men to traverſe wth more aſſurance the great bay for to decline from the tediouſneſſe of the highway, w^{ch} they muſt doe, having but ſmall boats; whence they came to a country full of mountains of ice, w^{ch} made us believe that they deſcended to the goulden arme.

So, fearing the winter ſhould come on, they made ſayles wherein they made greate way when the wind was behind; otherwyſe they could not make uſe of their ſayles, and many of their boats weare loſt, but ſtill went on, hoping of a better country. They wandered ſo many moons wth great danger and famine, ffor they began to miſſe ſuch plenty as they [were] uſed [to]. Att laſt [they] gott out, and coaſting the ſkirts of the ſea, and enters as it weare into a country where the ſumer begins againe, they weare incouraged to greater hopes, inſomuch y^{t} the poore people became from their firſt origine to lead another life. Being only conducted by their imaginary idea or inſtinct of nature ffor ſteering, they knewed nothing but towards the roote of y^{e} Sun, and likewiſe by ſome ſtarrs. Finally the coaſt brings them to the great river St. Lawrence,

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[40] "Coming to a lake which conducts them into a great river." Mooſe River, which leads into Hudſon's Bay.

St. Lawrence, river of Canada; knowing not that it was a river till they came juſt oppoſit againſt yͤ mounts of our bleſſed lady, where they then perceaved to [be] betwixt 2 lands, albeit that litle ſummer was paſt, and that yͤ ſeaſon of the yeare growing on ſomewhat ſharpe, wᶜʰ made them think to ſearch for winter. [They] mounted allways up the river, and finding one ſide moſt beautifull for the eye, they paſſed it over, and planted their cabbans in many parts by reaſon of the many ſtreams there flowing wᵗʰ quantity of fiſh, whereof they made a good ſtore for their wintering. After a while that upon this undertaking they made cognicence and commerced wᵗʰ the highlanders, inhabitants of that country, who gave them notice that there weare a nation higher who ſhould underſtand them, being that they weare great travellers, that they ſhould goe on the other ſide and there ſhould find another river named Tatouſac.

They ſeeing the winter drawing on they made a fort and ſent to diſcover the ſaid place a band of their men to Tatouſac. They finde a nation that underſtands them not more then the firſt, but by chance ſome that eſcaped the hands of their ennemy Iroquoits, and doubts that there is great difference of language between the Iroquoits and the Hurrons. They weare heard; & further you muſt note that neere the lake of the Hurrons ſome 40 leagues eaſtward there is another lake belonging to the nation of the Caſtors, wᶜʰ is 30 miles about. This nation have no other trafick nor induſtry then huntſmen. They uſe to goe once a yeare to the furtheſt place of yͤ lake of yͤ Hurrons to ſell their Caſtors for Indian Corne, for ſome collors made of nettles, for ſacks, & ſuch things, for wᶜʰ they weare curious enough. So coming backe to their ſmall lake againe, thoſe marchandiſes weare tranſported to a nation beyond that lake towards N. N. E., and that nation had commerce wth a people called y^{e} white fiſh, w^{ch} is norweſt to the 3 rivers ſome 150 leagues in the land. That nation had intelligence wth y^{e} Saguenes, who are thoſe that liveth about Tadouſac, ſo that the 2 nations have great correſpondency wth one another becauſe of their mutual language, ſaving that each one have a particular letter and accent.

Finding that nation of the Caſtors, who for the moſt part underſtands the Hurron idiom, they converſed together & weare ſupplied wth meat by that wandring nation y^{t} lives onely by what they may or can gett. Contrary wiſe the Hurrons are ſeditious. We ſhall ſpeak of them more amply in its place. So thoſe miſerable adventurers had ayd during that winter, who doubtleſſe ſhould ſouffer wthout this favor. They conſulted together often, ſeeing themſelves renforced wth ſuch a ſuccour of people for to make warrs againſt the Iroqois.

The next Spring their warre was conducted wth ſucceſs, ffor they chaſſed y^{e} Iroquois out of their country w^{ch} they loſt ſome winters before. They march up to the furtheſt part of the Lake Champlaine, to know if y^{t} was their formeſt dwelling, but they ſpeak no further of it. Thoſe Iroquoits to wander up and downe and ſpread themſelves as you have heard to the lake d'Ontario, of w^{ch} I will after make mention. I heard all this from frenchmen that knewed the Hurron ſpeech better then I myſelfe, and after I heard it from the wildmen, & it 's ſtrang (being if it be ſo as the french as [well] as wildmen do already) that thoſe people ſhould have made a circuit of that litle world.

The Iroquoits after being putt out of that country of Quebecq, the Hurrons and Algonquins made themſelves maſters in it; that is to ſay, they went up above monmorency after that they left the place of their wintring, w^{ch} was over againſt Tadouſac, att the height of the Chaudiere (ſo called in french), and after many years they retourned to live att the gape of their lake, w^{ch} is 200 Leagues long & 50 or 60 leagues large. Thoſe hurrons lived in a vaſt country that they found unhabited, & they in a great number builded villages & they multiplied very many. The Iroquoits alſo gott a great country, as much by ſweetneſſe as by force. They became warriors uppon their owne diſpences and coſt. They multiplied ſo much, but they became better ſouldiers, as it's ſeene by the following of this diſcourſe. The hurrons then inhabited moſt advantageouſly in that place, for as much as for the abundance of dears and ſtaggs, from whence they have the name ſince of Staggy. It's certaine that they have had ſeverall other callings, according as they have builded villages. Fiſhing they have in abundance in his ſeaſon of every kind; I may ſay, more then wee have in Europe. In ſome places in this lake where is an innumerable quantity of fiſh, that in 2 houres they load their boat wth as many as they can carry.

At laſt [they] became ſo eminent ſtrong that they weare of a minde to fight againſt the neighbouring nation. Hearing that their ſworne ennemys y^{e} Iroquoits retired towards the nation called Andaſſtoüeronom, w^{ch} is beyond the lake d'Ontario, between Virginia & that lake, they reſolved to goe & ſearch them for to warre againſt them; but they ſhall find it to their ruine, w^{ch} I can affirme & aſſure, becauſe the

Iroquoits in y^e moſt part of their ſpeeches, w^{ch} comes from father to ſon, ſays, we bears (for it 's their name) whilſt we ſcraped the earth wth our pawes, for to make the wheat grow for to maintaine our wives, not thinking that the deare ſhall leape over the lake to kill the Beare that ſlept; but they found that the beare could ſcratch the ſtagge, for his head and leggs are ſmall to oppoſe. Such ſpeeches have they commonly together, in ſuch that they have had warrs many years.

The Holanders being com'd to inhabit Menada, furniſhed that nation wth weopens, by w^{ch} means they became conquerors. The ffrench planters in Newfrance came up to live among this nation. In effect they doe live now many years; but the ambition of the fathers Jeſuits not willing to permitt ffrench families to goe there, for to conſerve the beſt to their profitt, houlding this pretext that yong men ſhould frequent the wild women, ſo that the Chriſtian religion by evil example could not be eſtabliſhed. But the time came that they have forſook it themſelves. For a while after the Iroquoits came there, y^e number of ſeaven hundred, on the ſnow in the beginning of Spring, where they make a cruell ſlaughter as the precedent years, where ſome ghoſtly fathers or brothers or their ſervants weare conſumed, taken or burnt, as their relation maks mention.

This ſelfeſame yeare they tooke priſoners of 11 or 12,000 of thoſe poore people in a village att [in] ſight of y^e Jeſuits' Fort, which had the name Saint, but [from] that houre it might have y^e name of feare. Heere follows ſickneſſe, and famine alſo was gott among theſe people, flying from all parts to eſcape the ſword. They found a more rude and cruel cruell enemy; for ſome after being taken gott their lives, but the hunger and their treachery made them kill one another, be it for booty or whatſoever other. None eſcaped, ſaving ſome hundred came to Quebecq to recover their firſt liberty, but contrary they found their end. So the ffathers left walls, wilderneſſe, and all open wide to the ennemy and came to Quebecq wth the reſt of the poore fugitives. They were placed in the wilderneſſe neere the habitation of Quebecq; but being not a convenient place, they weare putt to y^{e} Iſle of Orleans, 3 leagues below Quebecq, in a fort that they made wth the ſuccour of the ffrench, where they lived ſome years planting & ſowing Indian corne for their nouriſhment, and greaſed robes of Caſtors, of which greaſe the profit came to the ffathers, the ſumme of 10,000 livres tournois yearly.

In this place they weare catched when they leaſt thought of it, not wthout ſubject of conivance. God knoweth there weare eſcaped that time about 150 women and ſome 20 men. The reſt are all killed, taken and brought away, of w^{ch} for the moſt part weare ſett at liberty in the country of their ennemy, where they found a great number of their kindred and relations who lived wth all ſorte of liberty, and went along wth the Iroquois to warre as if they weare natives, in them was no truſt to be given, ffor they weare more cruell then y^{e} Iroquois even to their proper country, in ſoe much that the reſt reſolved to ſurrender themſelves then undergoe the hazard to be taken by force. The peace was made by the inſtancy of the ffather Jeſuits. As before, ſome weare going there to live, as they have already begun. They ſeeing our departure & tranſporting of our goods to Mount Royall for to runne yea the hazard, they alſo muſt come. To lett you know [if] our fortune or theirs be better or worſe, it ſhould be a hard thing for me to declare; you may judge yourſelfe.

Lett us come to our purpoſe and follow our voyage. Being arrived att the laſt french habitation, where we muſt ſtay above 15 dayes, ffor to paſs that place w^th^out guide was a thing impoſſible, but after the time expired, our guides arrived. It was a band of Iroquois y^t^ was appointed to fetch us, and conduct us into their country. One day att 10 of the clock in y^e^ morning, when we leaſt thought of any, ſaw ſeverall boats coming from the point of S^t^ Louis, directly att the foot of a hill ſo called ſome 3 miles from mont Royall. Then rejoycing all to ſee coming thoſe that they never thought to have ſeene againe, ffor they promiſſed to come att y^e^ beginning of Spring and ſhould arrive 15 dayes before us, but ſeeing them, every one ſpeakes but of his imbarcation.

The Hurrons that weare preſent began to make ſpeeches to encourage their wives to make ready w^th^ all their ſtuffe and to feare nothing, being that the heavans would have it ſo diſpoſed, & y^t^ it was better to die in Iroquois Country and peace w^th^ their brethren, then ſtay in the knott of their nativity, that is their country, to be murthered, & better in y^e^ Iroquois Country in warre for to be burned. All things ſo diſpoſed, they prepare themſelves to receave the Iroquois, who weare no more then 3,000 in number,[41] and made a halt for to hold councell to know what they muſt ſay that they thought of every one and of the Hurrons. But thoſe Barbars had an other deſigne, ffor their deſtiny was to doe, and not to ſpeake; but for to doe this, this muſt be a treachery in w^{ch} they are experted. You muſt know that that bande [of] Irokois [in] deſcending the laſt ſtreame or falling watter one of their ſkiffs made ſhipwrake in w^{ch} weare ſeaven, all drowned wthout none could ſouccour them. A thing remarkable, that every one ſtrive to help himſelfe wthout that they will give ayde or aſſiſtance to an other; uppon this, that untoward army, thoſe wild barbarous wth vengence, held councell, as is before ſaid, for to be revenged of the loſſe of their Compagnions, where they determined, being that they come to fetch the french and y^{e} hurrons, to revenge this uppon them and kill them as ſoone as they ſhould be in their juriſdiction; but conſidering after that wee french had a fort in their country wth a good ſtrong guard, and y^{t} that ſhould cauſe affairs, it was concluded that there furor ſhould not be diſcharged but uppon the poore hurrons.

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[41] "No more than 3,000 in number," meaning, no doubt, that number at Onondaga and its vicinity.

Upon this deliberation they broke councell and arrived att the fort. Their ſpeech was cleare contrary to their deſigne, and promiſes inviolably ffriendſhipp. There was preſents and guifts given of both party, but when they pertooke the death of their Compagnions they muſt make other preſents perhaps that prevailed ſomewhat in their thoughts, and tourne them from their perfidious undertakings. For often the liberalitie of thoſe ſavage was ſeene executed, but the deſire brings great booty, and obſervance cauſes that covetouſneſſe will prove deare to the ffrench as to the Hurrons in few days. Preſently they procure ſome boats, ffor y^{e} Iroquoits had but eleven and the hurrons none, for they came in the ffrench ſhallope. So y^{t} it muſt be contrivance for the one and other, w^{ch} was ſoone done. In leſſe then 8 dayes parted the dwelling we found more then 30 boats, and all very great, we being allſo ſo many in company, 80 Iroquoits, ſome hundred huron women and ſome 10 or 12 men, 20 ffrench wth two ffathers Jeſuits. In this manner we departed Mont royall, every one loaded wth his burden. Wee paſſed the ſame journie. Wee paſſed the gulfe of S^{t} Louis, and made cabbans in the furthermoſt part of y^{e} ſtreame. That day was laborious to us, ſo much that the Iroquoits reſolved to be backe againe, and make a company to fight againſt the Algonquins of Quebecq. Upon this, 30 left us.

The next day we embarqued though not wthout confuſion, becauſe many weare not content nor ſatisfied. What a pleaſure y^{e} two ffathers to ſee them trott up and downe the rocks to gett their menage into the boat, w^{ch} wth much adoe they gott in. The boats weare ſo loaden that many could not proceed if bad weather ſhould happen. The journey but ſmall came only to y^{e} lake of S^{t} Louis, 3 leagues beyond the ſtreame. There the ſavage threwed the ffathers' bundle on the watter ſide, and would take no care for them; ſeeing many of their men gone, the french as well as Hurrons, who would have diſputed their lives wth them for their lives, and had prevented them if their deſigne had bin diſcovered. So y^{t} after a great debat we muſt yeeld to the ſtrongeſt party for the next embarking.

The ffathers' merchandiſes weare left behind to oblige the ffrench to ſtay wth it, and ſeaven of us onely embarqued, one of the ffathers wth 6 more, and the reſt ſtayed to bring what was left behind, ſo that ours weare diminiſhed above

40 men. Wee embarqued indifferently one w^th^ another, ffrench, Iroquoits, and Hurrons. After we came to the higheſt of the Iſle of Montroyall; we ſaw the ſeparation, or rather the great two rivers that of Canada are compoſed; the one hath its origine from y^e^ weſt and y^e^ other from South Southeaſt. It was the laſt that wee ſayled, coming to the end of that lake, w^ch^ is 14 or 15 leagues long and 3 in breadth. We muſt make carriages w^ch^ are high w^th^all, and the boats by lande becauſe no other way to paſſe. The trainage is where the watter is not ſo trepid. We draw the boats loaden after us, and when there is not water enough, every one his bundle by land.

Having proceeded 3 dayes' journey on y^t^ river, we entered another lake ſomewhat bigger; it 's called S^t^ francis. This is delightfull to the eye as the formoſt. I ſpeak not of the goodneſſe, for there are many things to be ſpoaken off. I am ſatisfied to aſſure you y^t^ it is a delightfull & beautifull country. We wanted nothing to the view paſſing thoſe ſkirts, killing ſtaggs, auriniacks & fowles. As for the fiſh, what a thing it is to ſee them in the bottom of the watter, & take it biting the hooke or lancing it w^th^ lance or cramp iron. In this lake the Hurrons began to ſuſpect the treachery conſpirated againſt them, ffor they obſerved that the Iroquoits allways conſulted privately together, not giving them the leaſt notice, w^ch^ made a Hurron w^th^ 3 men & 2 women goe away & run away to y^e^ ffrench of Quebecq; & for this intent one very morning, after being imbarqued as the reſt, went in to the midle of the river, where they began to ſing & take their leave, to the great aſtoniſhment of the reſt & to the great diſcontent of the Iroquoits, that ſaw themſelves ſo fruſtrated of ſo much booty that they exſpected. But yett they made no ſigne att y^{e} preſent, but lett them goe wthout trouble for feare the reſt would doe the ſame, & ſo be deprived of y^{e} conſpiracy layde for the death of their compagnions. To that purpoſe knowing the place where they weare to land, w^{ch} was in an iſland in the midle of the river, a league long & a quarter broade, they reſolved to murder them in the ſaid place, w^{ch} was promptly executed in this maner following: —

They embarqued both hurron men and women in their boats, and among them made up ſom 20 that embarked themſelves in 2 of their boats, in a poſture as if they ſhould goe to y^{e} warrs, & went before the breake of day. We weare but 7 frenchmen, & they put us 7 [in] ſeverall boats. I find meſelfe wth 3 Iroquoits & one Hurron man. Coming within ſight of y^{e} Iſle where they weare to play their game, one of y^{e} Iroquoits in y^{e} ſame boate as I landed, takes his gunne & charges it. The hurron and I ſaw this, but neither dreamed of y^{e} tragedy that was att hand. After goes into the woode, & the Iroquois that governed the boat takes up a hattchett & knocks downe the poore hurron, that never thought to be ſo ended, and the other y^{t} charged his muſket in the wood ſhoots him and fell downe uppon my heels. My feet ſoone ſwims in the miſerable hurron's bloode. He did quiver as if he had an ague, and was wounded wth great many wounds, y^{t} ſtill they doubled. Both Iroquoits came to me and bid [me have] courage, ffor they would not hurt me; but [as] for him that was killed, he was a dogg, good for nothing. Y^{e} ſmall knowledge that I have had of their ſpeech made of a better hope; but one that could not have underſtood them would have ben certainly in a great terror. This murder could not be committed ſo but that y^{e} reſt of the boats ſhould heare it, and therefore in that very time we heard ſad moans and cryes horidly by hurron women. They threwed the corps immediately into y^{e} water and went the other ſide of the river into y^{e} aboveſaid iſle. Being landed together, the poore women went in a flock like ſheep that ſees the wolves ready to devour them. There were 8 hurron men that tooke theire armes. The Iroquoits not hindering them in the leaſt, but contrarily the Captayne of y^{e} Iroquoits appeared to defend their cauſe, giving ſharp apprehenſions to thoſe y^{t} held up armes, and ſo farr y^{t} he did beat thoſe y^{t} offered to hurt them.

In this example you may perceive the diſſimulation & vengence of this curſed people. So that the Company, reaſſured in ſome reſpects, the affrighted company, made them goe up to the toppe of the hill and there errect cottages ſome 40 paces from them; during the while I walked on the ſide where they weare hard at work and firmly believed that y^{e} poore hurron was killed by the Iroquoit out of malice, ſo much truſt I putt in the traiterous words. As I was directly coming where the hurrons weare, what ſhould I ſee? A band of Iroquoits all daubed, ruſhing out of a wood all painted, w^{ch} is the ſigne of warre. I thought they weare thoſe y^{t} I have ſeene in [the] morning before, as effectually they weare. I came to the place where weare all thoſe poore victims. There was the good ffather comforting the poore innocent women. The chief of them ſatt by a valliant huron who all his life time killed many Iroquoits, and by his vallour acquired the name of great Captayne att home and abroad. The Iroquoit ſpake to him, as y^{e} ffather told us, and as I myſelf have heard. "Brother, cheare up," ſays he, "and aſſure yourſelfe you ſhall not be killed by doggs; thou art both man and captayne, as I myſelfe am, and will die in thy defence." And as y^{e} afforeſaid crew ſhewed ſuch a horrid noiſe, of a ſudaine y^{e} captayne tooke hold of the chaine that was about him, thou ſhalt not be killed by another hand then by mine. Att y^{t} inſtant the cruell Iroquoits fell upon thoſe hurrons, as many wolves, wth hattchetts, ſwords, and daggers, & killed as many [as] there weare, ſave onely one man. That hurron captayne ſeeing himſelfe ſo baſly betrayed, he tooke hold of his hattchett that hunged downe his ſide, and ſtrook downe a Iroquoit; but the infinit deale tooke his courage and life away. This that was ſaved was an old man, who in his time had ben att the defeat and taking of ſeverall Iroquoits. He in authority by his means ſaved ſome. This news brought to them and his name as benefactor, w^{ch} deed then ſaved his life. Heere you ſee a good example, that it is decent to be good to his Ennemy.

After this was done & their corps throwne into the watter, the women weare brought together. I admired att them, ſeeing them in ſuch a deepe ſilence, looking on the ground wth their coverletts uppon their heads, not a ſigh heard, where a litle before they made ſuch a lamentable noiſe for the loſſe of their companyion y^{t} was killed in my boate. Some 2 howers all was pacified & the kettle almoſt ready for [to] goe to worke. In this very moment there calls a councell. The ffather was called as a ſtatſman to that councell, where he hears their wild reaſons; that what they had done was in reveng of their deare comrades that weare drowned in coming for them, and alſo to certifie the ffrench of their good will. So done, the meate was dreſſed, we weare invited. The ffather comes to take his diſh, and finds us all 5 in armes, reſolving to die valiently, thinking the councell was called to conclud our death as the Hurron's. The 6th was not able to menage armes, being a litle boy. The ffather gave us a brother of his company who had invincible good looke and a ſtout heart. We waited onely for his ſhooting. The ffather could not perſuade him to draw. We told him if he would not fight, to leave our company; which perceived by the Iroquoits, made them looke to themſelves. They came & aſſured us of their good will. The 4 french-men that underſtood not longed for ye ſchermiſh & die for it. Att laſt the ffather prevailed wth us, & tould us what was done in Councell. Two Iroquoits came to us wth weapons, who ſignifies there is nothing layd againſt you, & commanded their compagnions to put by their armes, that they weare our brethren. The agreement was made. Some went to the feaſt, ſome ſtayed. Having eaten, the ffather calls them againe to councell, & for that purpoſe borrows ſome porcelaine from ye captayne to make 3 guifts.

All being together the ffather begins his ſpeech, throwing the firſt guift into the midle of the place, deſiring that it might be accepted for the conſervation of the ffriendſhipe that had ben long between them and us, and ſo was accepted wth a ho, ho, wch is an aſſurance & a promiſe, as thanks. The 2nd was for the lives of the women wch weare in their hands, & to conduct them wth ſaftie into their country, wch was accepted in like manner. The 3rd was to encourage them to bring us to their owne country & carry our Marchandiſes in ſuch [manner] that they may not be wett, nor leave them behind, w^{ch} was, as aboveſaid, punctually obſerved.

The councell being ended, the captaynes made ſpeeches to encourage the maſters of the boats to take a bundle to his care & charge, & give an acco^{t} of it in the country. I wiſh the lotts weare ſo diſtributed before we came from mont royall, but y^{t} it is y^{e} miſerable comfort, better late then never. Att night every one to his cabben, and the women diſperſed into every cabban wth their children, w^{ch} was a ſight of compaſſion. The day following being the 8th day of our departure, ſome went a hunting, ſome ſtayed att home. Y^{e} next day to that we embarqued all a ſunder, a boat for each. I was more chearfull then the reſt, becauſe I knewed a litle of their language, and many ſaw me in the low country. Wherefore [they] made me embarque wth a yong man, taller & properer then myſelfe. We had paines and toyles enough; eſpecially my ſperit was grieved, and have ſouffred much troubles 6 weeks together. I thought we ſhould come to our journey's end & ſo help one another by things paſt; ffor a man is glad to drive away the time by honeſt, ingenuous diſcours, and I would rejoyce very much to be allwayes in company uppon my journey. It was contrary to me all the voyage, ffor my boat and an.other, wherein weare 2 men & a woman Iroquoit, ſtayed behind wthout ſeeing or hearing from one another. I leave wth you to think if they weare troubled for me or I for them. There was a great alteration a litle before; a whole fleete of boats, now to be reduced [to] 2 onely. But patience perforce.

We wandered on that gay river by the means of high and low gulfs that are in it; ffor ſince I made reflection of the quantity of water that comes in y^{t} river y^{t} comes from off the top of the high mountains wth ſuch a torrent that it cauſes a mighty noiſe w^{ch} would make the bouldeſt men afraid. We went on ſome journeys wth a deale of paines and labour becaus for our weekneſſe, and moreover a man of y^{e} other boat fell ſick of y^{e} ague, ſoe that one of us muſt helpe him either in y^{e} carriag or drawing y^{e} boat; and, w^{ch} was wors, my compagnion was childiſh and yong as I. The long familiarity we had wth one another breeded contempt, ſo that we would take nothing from one another, w^{ch} made us goe together by the ears, and fought very often till we weare covered in blood. The reſt tooke delight to ſee us fight; but when they ſaw us take either gun or ſword, then came they to putt us a ſunder. When we weare in the boat we could not fight but wth our tongues, flying water att one another. I believe if the fathers' packet had ben there, the guift could not keepe it from wetting. As for meat we wanted none, and we had ſtore of large ſtaggs along the watter ſide. We killed ſome almoſt every day, more for ſport then for neede. We finding them ſometimes in iſlands, made them goe into the watter and after we killed about a ſcore, we clipped the ears of the reſt and hung a bell to it, and then let them looſe. What a ſporte to ſee y^{e} reſt flye from that y^{t} had y^{e} bell!

As I ſatt wth my compagnion I ſaw once of an evening a very remarquable thing. There comes out of a vaſt foreſt a multitud of bears, 300 att leaſt together, making a horrid noiſe, breaking ſmall trees, throwing the rocks downe by the watter ſide. We ſhot att them but [they] ſtirred not a ſtep, w^{ch} frightned us that they ſlighted our ſhooting. We knew^{d}

not whether we killed any or no, becauſe of yᵉ darke, neither dare we venter to ſee. The wild men tould me that they never heard their father ſpeake of ſo many together.

We went to the other ſide to make cabbans, where being arrived, where we made fire & put the kettle on. When it was ready we eat our belly full. After ſupper yᵉ ſick wild man tould me a ſtory and confirmed it to be true, wᶜʰ happened to him, being in warre in yᵉ upper Country of the Iroquoits neere the great river that divides it ſelf in two. "Brother," ſayes he, "it 's a thing to be admired to goe afar to travell. You muſt know, although I am ſick I am [a] man, and fought ſtoutly and invaded many. I loved alwayes the ffrench for their goodneſſe, but they ſhould [have] given us [to] kill the Algonkins. We ſhould not warre againſt the ffrench, but traited wᵗʰ them for our caſtors. You ſhall know I am above 50 years (yett the fellow did not looke as if he had 40). I was once a Captayne," ſays he, "of 13 men, againſt the nation of the fire & againſt the Stairing hairs, our Ennemys. We ſtayed 3 whole winters from our country, and moſt of that time among our ennemy, but durſt not appeare becauſe of the ſmall number we had againſt a multitude, wᶜʰ made us march in the night and hide ourſelves in the daytime in foreſts. Att laſt we are weary to be ſo long abſent from our wives & countrey. We reſolved ſome more execution, & take the firſt nation that we ſhould incountre. We have allready killed many. We went ſome dayes on that river, wᶜʰ is bordered of fine ſands; no rocks there to be ſeene. Being landed one morning to goe out of the way leaſt we ſhould be diſcovered, and for [to] know the place that we weare, ſent two of our men to make a diſcovery, who coming back brought us [word] that they have ſeen devils, and could not believe that they weare men. We preſently putt ourſelves on our gards, and looke to our armes, thought to have ben loſt, but tooke a ſtrong reſolution to die like men, and went to meet thoſe monſters. We weare cloſe to one an other, ſaveing they that made a diſcovery, that went juſt before us, tould us, being neere the waterſide, that they have ſeene afar off (as they thought) a great heape of ſtoanes. We needing them mightily we went to gett ſome. Within 200 paces nigh we found them converted into men, who weare of an extraordinary height, lying all along the ſtrand aſleepe. Brother, you muſt know that we weare all in feare to ſee ſuch a man and woman of a vaſt length. They weare by two feete taller then I, and big accordingly. They had by them two baſquetts, a bow and arrows. I came nigh the place. Their arrows weare not ſo long as ours, but bigger, and their bows yᵉ ſame; each had a ſmall ſtagg's ſkin to cover their nakedneſſe. They have noe winter in their country. After being gone we held a councell to conſider what was to be done. We weare two boats; the one did carry 8 men, the other 5. That of 8 would goe back againe, but that of 5 would goe forward into another river. So we departed. The night being come, as precedent nights, we ſaw fires in ſeverall places on yᵉ other ſide of the river, wᶜʰ made us goe there att yᵉ breake of day, to know what it was, wᶜʰ was men as tall as the other man and woman, and great many of them together a fiſhing. We ſtealed away wᵗʰout any noiſe and reſolved not to ſtay longer in them parts, where every thing was ſo bigg. The fruits of trees are as bigg as the heart of an horiniac, wᶜʰ is bigger then that of an oxe.

"The day after our retourne, being in cottages covered wth buſhes, we heard a noiſe in the wood, w^{ch} made us ſpeedily take our weopens, every one hiding himſelfe behind a tree the better to defend himſelfe, but perceaved it was a beaſt like a Dutch horſe, that had a long & ſtraight horne in the forehead, & came towards us. We ſhott twice at him; [he] falls downe on the ground, but on a ſudaine ſtarts up againe and runs full boot att us; and as we weare behind the trees, thruſts her horne very farr into y^{e} tree, & ſo broak it, and died. We would eat non of her fleſh, becauſe y^{e} flemings eat not their horſes' fleſh, but tooke off y^{e} ſkin, w^{ch} proved heavy, ſo we left it there. Her horne 5 feet long, and bigger then y^{e} biggeſt part of an arme."[42]

We ſtill proceeded in our journey. In 7 dayes we overtook the boat that left us. Now whether it was an unicorne, or a fibbe made by that wild man, y^{t} I cannot tell, but ſeverall others tould me the ſame, who have ſeene ſeverall times the ſame beaſt, ſo that I firmly believe it. So his ſtory ended, w^{ch} laſted a great while; ffor having an excellent memory, tould me all the circumſtances of his rencounters.

We [went] from thence the next morning. We came to a beatifull river, wide one league and a halfe, w^{ch} was not violent nor deepe, ſoe that we made no carriages for 15 or 20 leagues, where we had the view of eagles and other birds taking fiſhes, wth we ourſelves have done, & killed ſalmons with ſtaves. One of my compagnions landed a ſturgeon ſix fadoms deepe and brought it. Going along the woodſide we came where a greate many trees weare cutt, as it weare intended for a fort. At the end of it there was a tree left ſtanding, but the rind taken away from it. Upon it there was painted wth a coale 6 men hanged, wth their heads at their feete, cutt off. They weare ſo well drawen, that the one of them was father by the ſhortneſſe of his haire, w^{ch} lett us know that the french y^{t} was before us weare executed. A litle further an other was painted of 2 boats, one of 3 men, an other of 2, whereof one was ſtanding wth a hattchett in his hands ſtriking on the head. Att an other weare repreſented 7 boats, purſueing 3 bears, a man drawn as if he weare on land wth his gune ſhooting a ſtagge. I conſidering theſe things, troubled me very much, yea, cauſed my heart to tremble wthin me; and moreover when thoſe that weare wth me certified me of what I was too ſure, telling me the 6 ffrenchmen weare dead, but tould me to be cheerfull, y^{t} I ſhould not die. After I found ſo much treachery in them I could but truſt litle in their words or promiſſes, yett muſt ſhew good countenançe to a wors game then I had a minde, telling me the contrary of what they told me of y^{e} death of y^{e} frenchmen, to ſhew them y^{t} I was in no feare.

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[42] In O'Callaghan's *Documentary Hiſtory of New York*, Vol. IV. p. 77, 1851, is given an engraving of this animal, with the title, "Wild Animals of New Netherlands," taken from a Dutch work publiſhed in Amſterdam in 1671. In this work it is thus deſcribed: "On the borders of Canada animals are now and again ſeen ſomewhat reſembling a horſe; they have cloven hoofs, ſhaggy manes, a horn right out of the forehead, a tail like that of the wild hog, black eyes, a ſtag's neck, and love the gloomieſt wilderneſſes, are ſhy of each other, ſo that the male never feeds with the female except when they aſſociate for the purpoſe of increaſe. Then they lay aſide their ferocity. As ſoon as the rutting ſeaſon is paſt, they again not only become wild but even attack their own."

Being embarqued, the wild men tould me we ſhould goe on the other ſide of that broad river. It was extreamly hott, no wind ſtiring. I was ready that both ſhould be together for the better aſſurance of my life. I perceived well that he alone was not able to performe yᵉ voyage; there was the other ſick of yᵉ other boat, that did row but very ſlowly. I thought to meſelfe they muſt needs bring me into their countrey if they meet non by the way, and ſo I comforted meſelfe wᵗʰ better hope. We ſoone came to the other ſide of the river. The other boat followed not, being nigh yᵉ land. My comrade perceaved an eagle on a tree, the feathers of wᶜʰ are in eſteeme among them. He lands and takes his gunne, charges it, and goes into the wood. I was in feare, wᵗʰout blame, for I knewed not what he meant. I remembered how the poore Hurron was ſerved ſo a litle before in his boat, and in like manner. As he went about, I could not imagine what was beſt, but reſolved to kill [rather] then be killed. Upon this I take my gunne, wᶜʰ the other ſaw, deſires me not to make any noiſe, ſhewing me the eagle, that as yett I have not ſeene. To obey him I ſtoope downe like a monkey, viſiting my weopon yᵗ he ſhould not ſuſpect. My eyes nevertheleſſe followed for feare. I ſee at laſt yᵉ truth of his deſigne; he ſhoots and kills the eagle.

[We] after imbarqued ourſelves, the night drawing on, and muſt think to goe to yᵉ other boat or he to us, wᶜʰ he did. I admired the weather, cleare and calme that we could ſcarce ſee him, yet yᵗ we ſhould heare them ſpeake, and underſtand, as if they weare but 20 or 30 paces from us. He being come, we ſought for conveniency to make cottages, wᶜʰ ſoone was done. The others ſooner landed then we. They came to receive us att our landing. One tooke my gunne, the other a litle bondle of mine. I was ſurpriſed att this. Then they aſked me [for] my powder and ſhott, and opened my bagge, began to partage my combs & other things that I had. I thought it y^e^ conſulteſt way to ſubmitt to the ſtrongeſt party, therefore I tooke [no] notice of what they did. The woman kindled the fire. Seeing myſelfe out of care of my fright, ſatt me ſelfe downe by the woman. Shee looked now and then uppon me, w^ch^ made me more and more miſtruſt. In the meane while he that was ſick calls me. I came and aſked him what he pleaſed. "I will," ſayd he, "that you imbarque your ſelfe by me," and throws his cappot away, bidding me alſo to leave my capot. He takes his hattchett, and hangs it to his wreſt, goes into the boat, & I w^th^ him. I would have carryed my gunne. I tooke it from the place where they layd it. They, ſeeing, laughed & gave a ſhout, as many beaſts, yett it was not in their power to make me goe to the boat w^th^out my weapon; ſo lett me have it, and went ſtraight as if we weare to goe on the other ſide of y^e^ river. About the midle the wild man bids mee goe out, to w^ch^ I would not conſent. I bid him goe. After we diſputed awhile, I not obeying, began to conſider if he had a minde to drowne me, that he himſelfe would not go in y^e^ water. Being come a litle to myſelfe I perceaved that the water was not 2 foote deepe. It was ſo darke, yett one might perceive the bottom covered w^th^ muſkles. Having ſo much experience, I deſired him to have patience; ſo gott of my ſhirt & lep^t^ into the watter & gathered about half a buſhell of thoſe ſhells or muſſells. I made ſure that the boat ſhould not leave me, for I faſtened my girdle to it, and held the end. Miſtruſt is the mother of ſafety. We came back againe. We found y^e^ kettle ready; they gave me meat and a diſh of broth, w^ch^ exerciſed me a while. Having done, the man comes and makes me pull of my ſhirt, having then nothing but my drawers to cover my nackedneſſe. He putts on my ſhirt on his back, takes a knif and cutts a medail that hung to my necke. He was a great while ſearching me and feeling if I was fatt. I wiſhed him farr enough. I looked [for] an opportunity to be from him, thinking to be better ſheltered by the woman. I thought every foot he was to cutt my troat. I could [not] beare [it]. I had rather dye [at] once then being ſo often tormented. I roſe and ſatt me downe by the woman, in whome was all my truſt. Shee perceived I was in great feare, whether by collour of my face or other, I know not. Shee putts her hands uppon my head & combs it downe wth her fingers. "My ſon," ſays ſhee, "be chearfull. It is my huſband; he will not hurt thee; he loves me and knoweth that I love thee, and have a mind to have thee to our dwelling." Then ſhee roſe and takes my ſhirt from her huſband and brings it me. Shee gave me one of her covers. "Sleepe," ſaid ſhee. I wanted not many perſuaſions. So chuſe rather the fatall blow ſleeping then awake, for I thought never to eſcape.

The next morning I finding meſelfe freed, wch made me hope for the future. I have reaſon to remember that day for two contrary things; firſt, for my ſpirits being very much perplexed, and ye other for yt the weather was contrary though very lovely. That morning they rendered all my things againe, & filled my bagge wth victualls. We left this place, wch feared me moſt then hurt was done. Some laughed att me afterwards for my feares wherein I was, wch I more & more hoped for better intertainment. The weather was fair all that day, but the next wee muſt make a waynage, wch [was] not very hard; but my comrade drew careleſſly, and the boat ſlipps from his hands, w^{ch} turned wth ſuch force that it had me along if I had not lett my hould goe, chuſing [rather] that then venter my ſelfe in danger. Soe that it [no] ſooner gott downe then we gott it up againe; but by fortune was not hurted, yett it runn'd aground among rocks. We muſt goe downe y^{e} river. I was driven to ſwime to it, where I found it full of watter, and a hole that 2 fiſts might goe through it, ſo that I could not drive it to land wthout mending it. My compagnion muſt alſo in the water like a watter dogg, comes and takes hould of the foure oares. All the wild men ſwims like watter doggs, not as we ſwime. We mende the boat there neatly, not wthout miſcalling one another. They ſpoake to me a word that I underſtood not becauſe of the difference betweene y^{e} low Iroquoits and their ſpeech, and in the anger and heat we layde the blame uppon one another to have lett the boat ſlippe purpoſely. I tooke no heed of what he alleadged. He comes ſudainly uppon me & there cuffed one another untill we weare all in bloode. Being weary, att laſt, out of breath, we gave over like 2 cocks over tyred wth fighting. We could not fight longer, but muſt find ſtrength to draw up y^{e} boat againſt the ſtreame and overtake the other, w^{ch} was a good way from us. It was impoſſible to overtake y^{t} day, nor the next. So that we muſt lay 3 nights by our ſelves.

The third day we arrived to a vaſt place full of Iſls, w^{ch} are called the Iſles of Toniata, where we overtooke our compagnions, who ſtayd for us. There they killed a great bigg and fatt beare. We tooke ſome of it into our boats & went on our journey together. We came thence to a place like a bazon, made out of an Iſle like a halfe moone. Here we caught eeles five fadoms or more deepe in the watter, ſeeing cleerly the bottome in abundance of fiſhes. We finde there 9 low country Iroquoits in their cabbans that came back from the warre that was againſt the nation of the Catts. They had wth them 2 women wth a young man of 25 years & a girle of 6 years, all priſoners. They had a head wth ſhort haire of one of yt nation, that uſes to have their hair turned up like ye prickles of an headg hogge. We cottaged ourſelves by them. Some of them knewed me & made much of mee. They gave me a guirland of porcelaine & a girdle of goat's haire. They aſked when ſhould I viſit my ffriends. I promiſſed to come there as ſoone as I could arrive att the upper village. I gave them my hattchett to give to my ffather, and 2 dozen of braſs rings & 2 ſhooting-knives for my ſiſters, promiſſing to bring a cover for my mother. They inquired what was it yt made me goe away, and how. I tould them through woods & arrived att the 3 rivers in 12 dayes, and yt I ſouffred much hunger by the way. I would not tell them that I eſcaped by reaſon of the Duch. They called me often Devill to have undertaken ſuch a taſk. I reſolved to goe along wth them. Heere I found certainty, and not till then, of the 6 ffrenchmen, whom they have ſeene ſeaven dayes before att the coming in of the great Lake D'ontario; and yt undoubtedly the markes we have ſeene on the trees weare done by ſeaven other boats of their owne nation that came backe from the warres in the north, that mett 2 hurron boats of 8 men, who fought & killed 3 Iroquoits and wounded others. Of the hurrons 6 weare ſlained, one taken alive, and the other eſcaped. Thoſe 2 boats weare going to the ffrench to live there. That news ſatisfied much my wild men, and much more I rejoiced at this. We ſtayed wth them the next day, feaſting one another. They cutt and burned the fingers of thoſe miſerable wretches, making them ſing while they plucked out ſome of their nailes, w^{ch} done, wee parted well ſatisfied for our meeting. From that place we came to lye att the mouth of a lake in an iſland where we have had ſome tokens of our frenchmen by the impreſſion of their ſhooes on the ſand that was in y^{e} iſland. In that iſland our wild men hid 10 caſkes of Indian Corne, w^{ch} did us a kindneſſe, ffor there was no more veneſon pye to be gotten.

The next day we make up our bundles in readineſſe to wander uppon that ſweet ſea, as is the ſaying of the Iroquoits, who rekens by their daye's journey. This was above 100 leagues in length & 30 in breadth. Seeing the water ſo calme and faire, we ventured ſome 3 leagues, to gaine a point of the firme land, that by that means we ſhould ſhorten 7 or 8 leagues in our way. We went on along the lake in y maner wth great delight, ſometimes wth paine and labour. As we went along the water ſide, the weather very faire, it comes to my mind to put out a cover inſtead of a ſaile. My companion liked it very well, for generally wild men are given to leaſineſſe. We ſeeing that our ſayle made us goe faſter then the other boat, not perceiving that the wind came from the land, w^{ch} carried us far into the lake, our compagnions made a ſigne, having more experience then wee, and judged of the weather that was to come. We would not hear them, thinking to have an advantage.

Soone after the wind began to blow harder, made us ſoon ſtrike ſayle, and putt our armes to worke. We feeled no

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the wind becauſe it was in our backs, but turning aſide we finde that we had enough to doe. We muſt gett ourſelves to a better element then that [where] we weare. Inſtantly comes a ſhower of raine wth a ſtorme of winde that was able to periſh us by reaſon of the great quantity of watter that came into our boat. The lake began to vapour and make a ſhow of his neptune's ſheep. Seeing we went backwards rather then forwards, we thought ourſelves uterly loſt. That rogue that was wth me ſayd, "See thy God that thou ſayeſt he is above. Will you make me believe now that he is good, as the black-coats [the ffather Jeſuits] ſay? They doe lie, and you ſee the contrary; ffor firſt you ſee that the ſun burns us often, the raine wetts us, the wind makes us have ſhipwrake, the thundering, the lightnings burns and kills, and all come from above, and you ſay that it 's good to be there. For my part I will not goe there. Contrary they ſay that the reprobats and guilty goeth downe & burne. They are miſtaken; all is goode heare. Doe not you ſee the earth that nouriſhes all living creatures, the water the fiſhes, and the yus, and that corne and all other ſeaſonable fruits for our foode, w^{ch} things are not ſoe contrary to us as that from above?" As he ſaid ſo he courſed vehemently after his owne maner. He tooke his inſtruments & ſhewed them to y^{e} heavens, ſaying, "I will not be above; here will [I] ſtay on earth, where all my friends are, and not wth the french, that are to be burned above wth torments." How ſhould one think to eſcape this torments and ſtorms, but God who through his tender mercy ceas'd the tempeſt and gave us ſtrength to row till we came to the ſide of the water? I may call it a mighty ſtorme by reaſon of the litleneſſe of the boat, y^{t} are all in watter to the breadth of 5 fingers or leſſe. I thought uppon it, and out of diſtreſs made a vertue to ſeeke the means to ſave ourſelves. We tyed a ſack full of corne in the fore end of our boat, & threw it into the watter, w^{ch} hung downe ſome foure fathoms, and wee putt our ſelves in the other end, ſo that the end that was towards the wind was higher then the other, and by that means eſcaped the waves that wthout doubt, if we had not uſed that means, we had ſunk'd. The other boat landed to lett that ſtorme [paſs] over. We found them in the even att their cottages, and thought impoſſible for us to eſcape.

After ſeverall dayes' travell we came to an iſle where we made cottages. We went ſo farre that evening that we might be ſo much the neerer to take a broader paſſage w^{ch} ſhould ſhorten our voyage above 20 leagues. Att night wee ſaw ſeverall fires uppon the land. We all judged that it was our company that went before us. Before brake of day we did what we could to overtake them, not wthout hazard, by reaſon the winds that blewed hard, w^{ch} we could not perceive before. Being come to the bay of the iſle we could not turne back wthout greater danger, ſo reſolved to proceede. We came to the very place where we ſaw the fires, & found y^{t} we weare not miſtaken in our opinions. By good looke they weare there, elſe we had periſhed for all being ſo neere the land, for the lake ſwelled by reaſon of the great wind y^{t} blew, w^{ch} ſtayed them there above 14 nights. Neither for this reaſon was there any landing, becauſe of a great banck or heape of rocks, untill thoſe that weare aſhore came to us into the watter to their oxtars[48] and ſtoped our boats.

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[48] *Oxtars*, up to their armpits.

We then caſt our ſelves and all that we had overboord, leaving our boats there, w^ch^ weare immediately in thouſands [of] peeces.

Being arrived, we placed our cottages by a moſt pleaſant delicat river, where for delightfullneſſe was what man's heart could wiſh. There weare woods, foreſts, meddows. There we ſtayed 3 dayes by reaſon of the weather. One night I layd neare a faire comely laſſe that was w^th^ us. There they take no notice, for they live in ſo great liberty that they are never jealous one of another. I admired of a ſudaine to heare new muſick. Shee was in travell and immediately delivered. I awaked all aſtoniſhed to ſee her drying her child by the fire ſide. Having done, [ſhe] lap^t^ the child in her boſome and went to bed as if y^t^ had ben nothing, w^th^out moan or cry, as doe our Europian women. Before we left the place that babe died. I had great mind to baptize him, but feared leaſt they ſhould accuſe me to be the cauſe of his death.

Being come to y^e^ above named place, where weare the ghoſtly ffathers w^th^ 8 other french, 3 came to meet us from the fort, w^ch^ weare but 30 leagues off, where I have receaved a cenſure for being ſo timidous, [in] not dareing to ffling watter on the head of that poore innocent to make him happy. We frenchmen began to tell our adventures, having ben out of hopes of ever to ſee one another, being exceeding glad that we weare deceaved in our opinions. Some leaves us & went by land to their cabbans. The reſt ſtayes for faire weather to come to our journey's ende. We wanted not ſlaves from that place to carry our packs. We came into a river towards the fort w^ch^ was dangerous for its ſwiftneſſe.

From that river y^{t} brought us wthin 30 leagues of ye lake we came into a narrower river from a ſmall lake where a french fort was built. This river was 2 leagues long & the lake 5 in compaſſe. About it a moſt pleaſant country, very fruitfull. Goeing up that ſame river we meet 2 french that weare fiſhing a kind of fiſh called dab, w^{ch} is excellent, & have done us great kindneſſe, having left no more proviſion then what we needed much.

Having come to the landing place att the foot of the fort, we found there a moſt faire caſtle very neatly built, 2 great & 2 ſmall ones. The bottom was built wth great trees & well tyed in the topp wth twiggs of aſhure, ſtrengthened wth two ſtrong walles & 2 baſtions, w^{ch} made the fort imppregnable of the wild men. There was alſo a fine fall of woods about it. The french corne grewed there exceeding well, where was as much as covered half a league of land. The country ſmooth like a boord, a matter of ſome 3 or 4 leagues about. Severall fields of all ſides of Indian corne, ſeverall of french tournaps, full of cheſtnutts and oakes of accorns, wth thouſand ſuch like fruit in abundance. A great company of hoggs ſo fatt that they weare not able to goe. A plenty of all ſortes of fowles. The ringdoves in ſuch a number that in a nett 15 or 1600 att once might be taken. So this was not a wild country to our imagination, but plentyfull in every thing.

We weare humanly receaved by the Reverend ffathers Jeſuits and ſome other 40 frenchmen, as well domeſtiques as volontiers. We prepared ourſelves to take y^{e} country's recreation, ſome to hunt, ſome to fiſh, but prevented by a feaver that ſeiſed on us all. Some continued a month, ſome more and ſome leſſe, w^{ch} is the tribut that one muſt pay for the changment of climat.

Some dayes after we had news y^t another company of Iroquoits weare arrived att mont Royall. As ſoone [as] we went from thence the father & the reſt of y^e ffrench y^t did ſtay behind did imbark themſelves w^{th} them and followed us ſo cloſe that ere long would be at us. As they went up to make cottages in the iſland of the maſſacre, w^{ch} was 16 dayes before our departure, one of the company goes to ſhute for his pleaſure, finds a woman half ſtarved for hunger, lying on a rock by a water. He brings her to the cottages & made ſo much by giving her ſome luckwarme water, w^{ch} he boyled w^{th} flower & greaſe, that ſhe came to herſelfe entirely againe. Shee was examined. Shee told them what is above ſaid, and when it happened. Shee hid her ſelfe in a rotten tree during the ſlaughter, where ſhee remained 3 dayes; after we weare gone ſhee came foorth for to gett ſome food, and found nothing, but founde onely ſome ſmall grapes, of roots the 3 firſt dayes, & nothing elſe. Shee finding her ſelfe feeble and weake, not able to ſuſtaine ſuch, reſolved for death. The father, knowing her to be a Chriſtian, had a ſingular care for her, & brought her where I overtooke the ſaid father w^{th} y^e 8 french. Being brought [ſhe] was frightened againe for ſeeing a man charging his gunne to kill her, as ſhee ſaid, ſo went away that night, & non knowes what became of her. Being weake, not thoroughly healed, ſhee fancied that ſuch a thing might be done. By this, we poore, many have recovered. The father arrives, that affirmes this newes to us, being very ſorry for the loſſe of this poore creature that God has ſo long preſerved

$wi^{th}out$

wthout any ſubſiſtance, w^{ch} ſhews us apparently that wee ought not to deſpaire, & that keeps thoſe that lives in his feare. We went to meete the father, I meane thoſe that weare able, to bid the father welcome & his company. Being come ſafe & in a good diſpoſition together, we rendered God thanks.

There weare many that waited for us, deſiring to tourne back againe to Quebecq, obtaining their deſier from the fathers & the governour of y^{e} fort. They weare 13 in number & one father. After 6 weeks end we recovered our health. So we went to bring them a part of the way, ſome to the water ſide, ſome to the lakſende, where we tooke of one another farewell, wth ſuch ceremonys as are uſed when friends depart. Some dayes after we heare that the poore woman was in the woods; not that ſhee knew'd which way to tourne, but did follow her owne fancy wherſoever it lead her, & ſo wandered 6 dayes, getting ſome times for her ſubſiſtance wild garlick, yong buds of trees, & roots. Shee was ſeene in an evening by a river, whereby ſhee was for 3 dayes, by 3 hurrons renegados. They tooke her, but in a ſad condition. They not conſidering that ſhee was of their owne nation, ſtript her. It is the cuſtom to ſtrip whomſoever is loſt in y^{e} woods. They brought her to the village, where the father was that brought her from the place of murdering to that place whence ſhee runned away the ſecond time. This father, knowing her, brings her to our fort, that we might ſee her as a thing incredible but by the mercy of God. I was in the village wth the father and wth another frenchman, where we ſee the crueleſt thing in nature acted. Thoſe Iroquoits that came along the river with us, ſome weare about fiſhing, ſome a hunting, they ſeeing this woman makes her [their] ſlave.

One day a man or theirs was forwearned for his inſolency, for not referring to the Governor, doing all out of his owne head. [He him] ſelfe was to come that day, leading 2 women w^th^ their 2 children, he not intending to give an account of anything but by his owne authority. The elders, heering this, goes and meets him ſome 50 paces out of the village for to maintaine their rights. They ſtayed this man. What weare thoſe beaſts? He anſwered they weare his; he no ſooner had ſpoaken, but one old man ſpoak to him thus: "Nephew, you muſt know that all ſlaves, as well men as women, are firſt brought before the Councell, and we alone can diſpoſe [of] them." So ſaid, & turned to the other ſide, and gave a ſigne to ſome ſoldiers that they brought for that purpoſe, to knock thoſe beaſts in the head, who executed their office & murdered the women. One tooke the child, ſett foot on his head, taking his leggs in his hands, wrought the head, by often turning, from off the body. An other ſouldier tooke the other child from his mother's breſt, that was not yett quite dead, by the feete and knocks his head againſt the trunck of a tree. This [is] a daily exerciſe w^th^ them, nor can I tell the one half of their cruelties in like ſortes. Thoſe with many others weare executed, ſome for not being able to ſerve, and y^e^ children for hindering their mothers to worke. So they reckne a trouble to lett them live. O wicked and barbarious inhumanity! I forgott to tell that the day the woman layed in, ſome houres before, ſhee and I roaſted ſome Indian Corn in the fire: being ready, ſhee pulled out the grains one by one with a ſtick, and as ſhee was ſo doing, ſhee made a horrid outcry, ſhewing me a toad, w^ch^ was in the breadth of a diſh, w^ch^ was in the midle of the redd aſhes ſtriving to gett out. We wondered, for the like was never ſeene before. After he gott out of the fire we threwed ſtoanes & ſtaves att him till it was killed. That toad lived 2 dayes in or under the fire.

Having remained in that village 6 dayes, we have ſeene horrible cruelties committed. Three of us reſolved to turne back to our fort, w^ch^ was 5 miles off. We brought above 100 women, hurron ſlaves & others, all loadened w^th^ corne. We weare allwayes in ſcarcity for pollicy, though we had enough, ffor certainty is farre better then the incertainty. Before we departed this baſe place we received [news] that the hurron who was ſaved by the conſent of the reſt in the Iſle of maſſacre, as is above ſaid, 2 dayes after his deliverance run'd away by night towards the lower country of y^e^ Iroquoits, where he arrived ſafe, not w^th^out ſufferings in the way, ffor ſuch long voyages cannot be performed otherwiſe, having gon through vaſt foreſts, finding no inn in the way, neither having the leaſt proviſion. Att his coming there he ſpoake whatever the reveng, wrath, and indignation could provoke or utter againſt the ffrench, eſpecially againſt the ffathers, ſaying that it was they that have ſold and betrayed them; and that he would beſtow the ſame uppon them if ever he ſhould meet w^th^ them. As for him, he gave heaven thanks that he was yett living; that he had his life ſaved by them to whome he would render like ſervice, warning them not to lett the french build a fort, as the upper Iroquoits had done; that he could tell them of it by experience; that they ſhould remember the nation of the Stagges ſo bigg. As ſoone as the french came there, nothing but death and ſlaughter was expected, having cauſed their death by ſorcery, w^{ch} brought a ſtrange ſickneſſe amongſt them. Such things can prevaile much uppon ſuch a wild, credulous nation; their minds alltogether for the warrs in w^{ch} they delight moſt of any thing in y^{e} world. We came our way; this news troubled us very much, knowing the litle fidelity that is [in] that wild nation, that have neither faith nor religion, neither law nor abſolut government, as we ſhall heare the effects of it.

The autumn ſcarce began but we heare y^{t} y^{e} lower Iroquoits contrived a treaſon againſt the ffrench. So having contrived ~~& diſcovered~~ that they weare reſolved to leavy an armie of 500 men of their owne nation, who are eſteemed the beſt ſouldiers, having the Anojot to aſſiſt them; a bold, raſh nation, and ſo thought to ſurpriſe the inhabitants of that place. As they weare contriving and conſequently ſeaſed upon the fort and towne, thinking to execute their plot wth eaſe, becauſe of their aſſurance, truſting (if contrary to their contrivance) to the peace, ſaying that the ffrench weare as many hoggs layed up to be fatted in their country. But, O liberality, what ſtrength haſt thou! thou art the onely means wherby men know all and pierce y^{e} hearts of the moſt wild & barbarous people of the world. Hearing ſuch news, we make friends by ſtore of guifts, yea ſuch guifts that weare able to betray their country. What is that, that interreſt will not do? We diſcover dayly new contryvances of treaſon by a Councellor. There is nothing done or ſaid but we have advice of it. Their dayly exerciſe is feaſting, of warrs, ſongs, throwing of hattchetts, breaking kettles. What can we do? We are in their hands. It's hard to gett away from them. Yea, as much as a ſhip in full ſea w^th^out pilot, as paſſengers w^th^out ſkill. We muſt reſolve to be uppon our guard, being in the midle of our Ennemy. For this purpoſe we begin to make proviſions for the future end. We are tould that a company of the Aniot nation volontiers was allready in their march to breake heads & ſo declare open warres. This company finds enough to doe att Mount Royall; ffor the ffrench being careleſſe of themſelves, working incomparably afarre from their fortifications w^th^out the leaſt apprehenſion. They killed 2 french and brought them away in triumph, their heads ſett up for a ſigne of warrs. We ſeeing no other remedy but muſt be gon and leave a delightful country. The onely thing that we wanted moſt was that wee had no boats to carry our bagage. It's ſad to tend from ſuch a place that is compaſſed w^th^ thoſe great lakes that compoſe that Empire that can be named the greateſt part of the knowne world. Att laſt they contrived ſome deale boords to make ſhipps w^th^ large bottoms, w^ch^ was the cauſe of our deſtruction ſooner then was expected.

You have heard above ſaid how the ffathers inhabited the hurron country to inſtruct them in Chriſtian doctrine. They preach the mighty power of the Almighty, who had drowned the world for to puniſh the wicked, ſaving onely our father Nöe w^th^ his familie was ſaved in an arke. One came bringing Indian corne, named Jaluck, who eſcaped the ſhipwrake that his countrymen had gone, being ſlave among us. He received ſuch inſtructions of thoſe deale boords, & reflected ſoundly upon the ſtructure that he thought verily they weare to make an other arke to eſcape their hands, and by our inventions cauſe all the reſt to be drowned by a ſecond deluge. They imputing ſo much power to us, as Nöe had that grace from God, thought that God at leaſt commanded us ſo to doe. All frightened [he] runns to his village. This comes back makes them all afraid. Each talkes of it. The elders gathered together to conſult what was to be done. In their councell [it] was concluded that our fort ſhould be viſited, that our fathers ſhould be examined, & according to their anſwers deliberation ſhould be taken to preſerve both their life and countrey. We had allwayes ſpyes of our ſide, w^{ch} weare out of zele and obedience. The ffathers Jeſuits and others voluntarily ventured their lives for the preſervation of the common liberty. They remaine in the village of thoſe barbars to ſpie what their intent ſhould be, houlding correſpondence w^{th} ſome of thoſe of the councell by giving them guifts, to y^{e} end that we might know what was concluded in the Councell & give us adviſe w^{th} all ſpeede. We by theſe means had intelligence that they weare to come & viſit our forts.

To take away all ſuſpicion of our innocency from thinking to build any ſhipp, w^{ch} if it had come to their knowledge had don a great prejudice to our former deſigne, a ſhippe then uppon the docke almoſt finiſhed. Heere we made a double floore in the hall where the ſhippe was abuilding, ſo that the wild men, being ignorant of our way of building, could not take any notice of our cuningneſſe, w^{ch} proved to our deſire. So done, finding nothing that was reported, all began to be quiet and out of feare. By this we weare warned from thencefoorth, miſtruſting all that came there, ſo preſerved ourſelves, puting nothing in ſight that ſhould give the leaſt ſuſpition. Both ſhipps weare accompliſhed; we kept them ſecretly & covered them wth 12 boats of rind y^{t} we kept for fiſhing and hunting. The wildmen knewed of theſe ſmall things, but ſuſpected nothing, believing that the french would never ſuſpect to venture ſuch a voyage for the difficultie of the way and violence of the ſwiftneſſe of the rivers and length of the way. We ſtayed for opportunity in ſome quietneſſe, deviſing to contrive our game as ſoone as the ſpring ſhould begin. The winter we paſt not wthout apprehenſions, having had ſeverall allarmes, falſe as [well] as true; for often weare we putt to our armes, in ſo much that one of our ſentryes was once by force drawen from the doore of the fort. He, to avoid the danger, drawes his ſword & wounds one of them & comes to the fort, crying, "To your armes." This was ſoone appeaſed; ſome guifts healed the wound.

The ſeaſon drawing nigh we muſt think of ſome ſtratageme to eſcape their hands and the reſt of ours that weare among them; w^{ch} was a difficulty, becauſe they would have ſome of us by them allwaye for the better aſſurance. But all their contrivances & wit weare too weake to ſtrive againſt our plotts w^{ch} weare already invented to their deceipt that would deceave us. We lett them underſtand that the time drew neere that the french uſes to trait their friends in feaſting and meriment, and all ſhould be welcome, having no greater ffriends then they weare. They, to ſee our faſhions as well as to fill their gutts, gave conſent. By that means the conſiderableſt perſons are invited, the ffather & 2 ffrench. There they weare made much of 2 dayes wth great joy, wth ſounds of trompetts, drumms, and flageoletts, wth ſongs in french as wild. So done, they are ſent away, the ffather wth

them. He was not a mile off but fains to gett a falle and ſighed that his arme was broken. The wild men being much troubled att this accident brings the father back and makes guifts that he may be cured. A plaſter was ſett to his arme, w^{ch} done [he is] putt into a bed. Then all the wildmen came to ſee him; he incouraged them that he ſhould ſoone recover and ſee them. The french that knewed not the plott cryed for the ffather, w^{ch} confirmed the belief of the wildmen. They all retyred to their village and we [ſcught] the meanes to embarke ourſelves.

We reſolved once more to make another feaſt when we ſhould have everything ready for our purpoſe; that is, when the father ſhould be well of his fayned ſickneſſe, ffor they allſo doe delight in feaſting, w^{ch} was to be done for the ſafe recovery of the ffather's health. We dayly had meſſengers from the elders of the country to know how he did, who (after the lake was opened from y^{e} ice that was covered wth ice) ſhould be in good diſpoſition. Many wiſhed to have the suneſhine ardently, their deſire was ſo great to be gone. Att laſt our patient begins to walke with a ſcharfe about his armes.

When the ſhippes and boats weare ready, we ſent them word that the father was well, & for joy would make a feaſt. The elders are invited. They weare ſure not to faile, but to be firſt. Being come, there are ſpeeches made to incourage them to ſing and eat. It's folly to induce them to that, for they goe about it more bould then welcome. They are told that the morow ſhould be the day of mirth. Heare is but play and dances, the ffrench by turns, to keepe them ſtill in exerciſe, ſhewing them tricks to keepe them awake, as the bird-catcher doth to teach the bird to ſing and not to fly away, as we then intended. Not one wildman was admitted to come into the fort that day, ſaying it was not our couſtomes to ſhew the ſplendour of our banquetts before they ſhould be preſented att table. The wildmen have no other then ground for their table.

In yᵉ meantime we weare not idle, the impatient father exerciſing himſelfe as the reſt. The evening being come, the wildmen are brought to the place deſtinated, not far from our fort. Every one makes his bundle of proviſions & marchandiſes & houſehold ſtuff, gunns, &c., ſome hid in yᵉ ground, and yᵉ reſt ſcattered becauſe we could not ſave them. We made excellent biſquetts of the laſt year's corne, & forgott not the hoggs that weare a fatning. Att laſt the trumpetts blowes, putt yourſelves in order; there is nothing but outcryes, clapping of hands, & capering, that they may have better ſtomach to their meat. There comes a dozen of great kettles full of beaten Indian corne dreſſed wᵗʰ mince meate. The wiſeſt begins his ſpeech, giving heaven thanks to have brought ſuch generous ffrench to honnour them ſo. They eate as many wolves, having eyes bigger then bellies; they are rare att it wᵗʰout noiſe. The time was not yett com'd to acknowledge the happineſſe we received from ſuch incompareable hoſts. Heare comes 2 great kettles full of buſtards broyled & ſalted before yᵉ winter, wᵗʰ as many kettles full of ducks. As many turtles was taken in yᵉ ſeaſon by the nett. Heere att this nothing but hooping to man's admiration whilſt one was a eating, and other ſort comes, as divers of fiſh, eels, ſalmon, and carps, wᶜʰ gives them a new ſtomach. Weare they to burſt, heere they will ſhew their courage. The time comes on. The beſt is that we are ſure none will forſake his place, nor man nor woman. A number of french entertaines them, keeping them from ſleepe in dancing & ſinging, for that is the cuſtome. Their lutrill, an inſtrumentall muſick, is much heere in uſe. Yett nothing is done as yett, ffor there comes the thickened flower, the oyle of bears, veniſon. To this y^{e} knif is not enough; the ſpunes alſo are uſed. Wee ſee allready ſeverall poſtures: the one beats his belly, the other ſhakes his head, others ſtopp their mouthes to keepe in what they have eaten. They weare in ſuch an admiration, making ſtrange kinds of faces, that turned their eyes up and downe. We bid them cheare up, & tould them it was an uſuall cuſtome wth the ffrench to make much of themſelves & of their friends. "They affect you, and yee muſt ſhew ſuch like to them by ſhewing yo^{r} reſpects to them that they ſo ſplendidly trait you. Cheere up like brave men. If yo^{r} ſleepe overcomes you, you muſt awake; come, ſound [the] drumme, it is not now to beat the Gien;[44] come, make a noiſe. Trumpett blow and make thy cheeks ſwell, to make the belly ſwell alſoe."

In the end nothing [is] ſpared that can be invented to the greater confuſion. There is a ſtrife between the french who will make the greateſt noiſe. But there is an end to all things; the houre is come, ffor all is embarked. The wildman can hold out no longer; they muſt ſleepe. They cry out, *Skenon*, enough, we can beare no more. "Lett them cry *Skenon;* we will cry *hunnay*, we are a going," ſayes we. They are told that the ffrench are weary & will ſleepe alſoe awhile. They ſay, "Be it ſo." We come away; all is quiet. Nobody makes a noiſe after ſuch a hurly-burly. The fort is ſhutt up as if we had ben in it. We leave a hogg att the doore for ſentery, wth a rope tyed to his foot. He wanted no meat for the time. Here we make a propoſition, being three and fifty ffrench in number, to make a ſlaughter wthout any difficulty, they being but 100 beaſts not able to budge, & as many women. That done, we could goe to their village att y^{e} breake of y^{e} day, where we weare ſure there weare not 20 men left, nor yong nor old. It was no great matter to deale wth 5 or 600 women, & may be 1000 children; beſides, the huntſmen ſhould not be ready this 2 moneths to come home. Having done ſo, we might have a great hole in the ſkirts of that untoward & pervers nation, that it was in way of revenge, becauſe of their diſloyalty, breaking the peace & watching an opportunity to doe the like to us, that we ſhould by that means have a better opportunity to eſcape; ſhewing by this whoſoever intends to betray, betrays himſelfe. The ffathers' anſwer was to this, that they weare ſent to inſtruct the people in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt and not to deſtroy; that the croſſe muſt be their ſword; moreover that they are told y^{t} we weare able to keepe the place, having victualls for the ſpace of 4 yeares, wth other proviſions.[46] So done, in the meanewhile ſome 16 french ſhould goe downe to y^e^ french & tell the news; ffor the reſt they weare able to oppoſe all the Iroquoits, having ſuch a ſtrong fort, and before the time could be expired ſome ſuccour was to be expected out of ffrance, as well as w^th^ the helpe of ſome of the wildmen, their allies, make an aſſault, and ſo free ourſelves of ſuch a ſlavery & the many miſeries wherin we weare dayly to undergoe, that by that means we might ſave the lives of many french and cleare a way from ſuch inhumans. It was in vaine to think to convert them, but the deſtroying of them was to convert them. So diſcover nations and countryes, and that the ffrench finding ſome fourty reſolut brothers that would have ventured themſelves full liberty & aſſurance of their lives to preſerve them from the crueleſt enemy that ever was found uppon the earth. All theſe ſayings could prevaile nothing uppon people that will avoid all ſlaughter.

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[44] "To beat the gien," probably meaning the guitar, as Charlevoix mentions that at the feaſt to the Indians one of the French young men played upon that inſtrument for their amuſement.

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[46] The new Governor, Viſcount d'Argenſon, who arrived in Canada a few months after, diſapproved of the evacuation of Onondaga. "The location of this fortification was probably about three quarters of a mile below Green Point, on the farm now occupied [in 1849] by Mr. Myrick Bradley, in the town of Salina, where the embankment and outlines were plain to be ſeen fifty years ago." *Hiſtory of Onondaga*, by J. V. H. Clarke, Vol. I. p. 161, n., 1849.

So to be obedient to our ſuperiours, w^th^out noiſe of trompet or drum, but zeal w^th^ griefe, we left that place. We are all embarked, and now muſt looke for the mouth of the river; and weare put to it, ffor it frized every night and the Ice of good thickneſſe, and conſequently dangerous to venture our boats againſt it. We muſt all the way breake the ice w^th^ great ſtaves to make a paſſage. This gave us paines enough. Att the breake of day we weare in ſight att the mouth of the river, where we weare free from ice. If thoſe had but the leaſt ſuſpicion or had looked out, they had ſeene us. We ſoone by all diligence putt ourſelves out of that apprehenſion, and came att the firſt riſing of the river, where freed from ice tenñe leagues from the fort, where we kept a good watch.

The day following we came to the Lake d'Ontario. The wind being boiſterous, could goe no further. There we ſought for a place to make cottages, w^{ch} was in an Iſland very advantageous, where we ſtayed 2 dayes for the weather. We weare not wthout feare, thinking that the wildmen ſhould follow us. They contrary wiſe ſtayed (as we heard) ſeaven nights, thinking that we weare aſleepe, onely that ſome roſe now and then, and rung the litle bell w^{ch} ſtooke to the hogg's foot. So myſtifying the buſineſſe affaire, [they] went & brought news to the village, w^{ch} made them come and looke over the pallisados, and ſaw in good earneſt the Anomiacks weare gone.

In our journey [we had] bad weather, high winds, ſnow, and every day raine on our backs. We came to the river att laſt, where was difficulty enough by reaſon of the goeing out of the lake, w^{ch} is hard to find, by the many iſles that are about the opening of the river. We weare in a maner of ſheepe ſcattered. After many croſſings to and fro we find ourſelves att the firſt ſtreame; the watters high, went on wthout danger, but the navigation proved worſe & worſe becauſe we came into a coulder country and into the moſt dangerouſeſt precipices. Now the river [was] covered over wth ice and ſnow w^{ch} made the river give a terrible noiſe. The land alſo covered all over wth ſnow, w^{ch} rendered us incapable of knowledge where we weare, & conſequently found ourſelves in great perils. It was well that the river ſwelled, for not a mother's ſon of us could elſe eſcape; ffor where we might have made carriages we [would] innocently have gone uppon thoſe currents. One of our greateſt veſſells runned on ſand and ſoone full by reaſon of the running of the ſtream, but by tournings, wth much adoe we gott it out againe, and by all dexterity brought to a harbour, w^th is hard to find in that place, ffor y^e ice and the ſtreame continually cutts the coaſts ſteepe downe, & ſo no landing thereabouts.

Heere a boat of 4 men made ſhipwrake. Heere every one for himſelfe & God for all. Heere is no reliefe. There the 3 that could ſwime weare drowned, becauſe they held not [to] the boat, but would ſwime to land. The other that had held it was ſaved w^th much adoe. Afterwards we came where the ſtreame was not ſo ſwifte at all, but as dangerous for its ice. We cutt the ice w^th hattchetts & we found places where [it] was rotten, ſo we hazarded ourſelves often to ſinke downe to our necks. We knewed the iſle of murder againe becauſe of the woman that runn'd away was w^th us. Shee had reaſon to know it, though all covered w^th ſnow. The ffathers ſome dayes before our departur cauſed her to come to y^e fort to deliver her out of the hands of her ennemy, becauſe ſhe was a Chriſtian. In ſhort time after her arrivall att Quebecq [ſhe] was marry'd, and died in childbed.

Six weeks being expired we came to the hight of S^t Louis, 3 leagues from mont royal, the firſt habitation of the ffrench. We went all that hight w^thout making carriages, truſting to the depth of the watter, & paſſed it by God's providence, that have made us that paſſage free; ffor if we had come there the day before we could not poſſibly paſſe (by the report of the ffrench), by reaſon that underneath the water was mighty ſwift, the river was frozen and covered w^th ice, and could not have turned back, for the ſtreame could bring us againſt our will under the ice. It was our lott to come after the ice was melted. The french inquirs who is there w^th aſtoniſhment, thinking that it ſhould be the charge of the Iroquoits. We thanked God for our deliverance.

Heere we had time to reſt ourſelves awhile att eaſe, w^ch^ was not permitted by the way. About the laſt of March we ended our great paines and incredible dangers. About 14 nights after we went downe the 3 rivers, where moſt of us ſtayed. A month after my brother and I reſolves to travell and ſee countreys. We find a good opportunity. In our voyage wee proceeded three yeares. During that time we had the happineſſe to ſee very faire countryes.

The ende of the ſecond voyage made in the Upper Country of the Iroquoits.

Now followeth the Auxoticiat Voyage into the Great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the Eaſt, and Bay of the North.

Being come to the 3 rivers, where I found my brother who the yeare before came back from the lake of the Hurrons w^th^ other french, both weare upon the point of reſolution to make a journey a purpoſe for to diſcover the great lakes that they heard the wild men ſpeak off; yea, have ſeene before, ffor my brother made ſeverall journeys when the ffathers lived about the lake of the hurrons, w^ch^ was upon the border of the ſea. So my brother ſeeing me back from thoſe 2 dangerous voyages, ſo much by the cruelties of the barbars as for the difficulties of the wayes, for this reaſon he thought I was fitter & more faithfull for the diſcovery that he was to make. He plainly told me his minde. I knowing it, longed to ſee myſelfe in a boat. There weare ſeverall companies of wild men Expected from ſeverall places, becauſe they promiſſed the yeare before, & [to] take the advantage of the Spring (this for to deceive the Iroquoits, who are allwayes in wait for to deſtroy them), and of the rivers wth is by reaſon of the melting of the great ſnows, wth is onely that time, ffor otherwiſe no poſſibility to come that way becauſe for the ſwift ſtreams that runs in ſummer, and in other places the want of watter, ſo that no boat can come through. We ſoone ſee the performance of thoſe people, ffor a company came to the 3 rivers where we weare. They tould us that another company was arrived att Mont Royal, and that 2 more weare to come ſhortly, y^{e} one to the Three Rivers, the other to Saegne,[44] a river of Tudouſack, who arrived wthin 2 dayes after. They divided themſelves becauſe of the ſcant of proviſion; ffor if they weare together they could not have victualls enough. Many goes and comes to Quebecq for to know the reſolution of m^{r} Governor, who together wth the ffathers thought fitt to ſend a company of ffrench to bring backe, if poſſible, thoſe wildmen the next yeare, or others, being that it is the beſt manna of the countrey by wth the inhabitants doe ſubſiſt, and makes the ffrench veſſells to come there and goe back loaden wth merchandiſes for the traffique of furriers who comes from the remoteſt parts of the north of America.

As ſoone as the reſolution was made, many undertakes the voyage; for where that there is lucre there are people enough to be had. The beſt and ableſt men for that buſineſſe weare choſen. They make them goe up the 3 rivers wth the band that came wth the Sacques. There take thoſe that weare moſt capable for the purpoſe. Two ffathers weare choſen to conduct that company, and endeavoured to convert ſome of thoſe foraigners of the remoteſt country to the Chriſtian faith. We no ſooner heard their deſigne, but ſaw the effects of the buiſneſſe, w^{ch} effected in us much gladneſſe for the pleaſure we could doe to one another, & ſo abler to oppoſe an ennemy if by fortune we ſhould meet wth any that would doe us hurt or hinder us in our way.

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[44] *Saegne, Sacgnes, Sacquenes,* or the River Saguenay.

About the midle of June we began to take leave of our company and venter our lives for the common good. We find 2 and 30 men, ſome inhabitants, ſome Gailliards that deſired but doe well. What fairer baſtion then a good tongue, eſpecially when one ſees his owne chimney ſmoak, or when we can kiſs our owne wives or kiſſe our neighbour's wife wth eaſe and delight? It is a ſtrange thing when victualls are wanting, worke whole nights & dayes, lye downe on the bare ground, & not allwayes that hap, the breech in the watter, the feare in y^{e} buttocks, to have the belly empty, the wearineſſe in the bones, and drowſineſſe of y^{e} body by the bad weather that you are to ſuffer, having nothing to keepe you from ſuch calamity.

Att laſt we take our journey to ſee the iſſue of a proſperous adventure in ſuch a dangerous enterpriſe. We reſolved not to be the firſt that ſhould complaine. The ffrench weare together in order, the wildmen alſo, ſaving my brother & I that weare accuſtomed to ſuch like voyages, have foreſeene what happened afterwards. Before our ſetting forth we made ſome guifts, & by that means we weare ſure of their good will, ſo that he & I went into the boats of the wild men. We weare nine and twenty french in number and 6 wildmen. We embarked our traine in the night, becauſe our number ſhould not be knowne to ſome ſpyes that might bee in ſome ambuſh to know our departure; ffor the Iroquoits are allwayes abroad. We weare 2 nights to gett to mont royall, where 8 Octanac ſtayed for us & 2 ffrench. If not for y^t^ company, we had paſſed the river of the meddowes, w^ch^ makes an iſle of Mont royall and joines itſelfe to the lake of S^t^ Louis, 3 leagues further then the hight of that name.

We ſtayed no longer there then as the french gott themſelves ready. We tooke leave w^th^out noiſe of Gun. We cannot avoid the ambuſh of that eagle, w^ch^ is like the owle that ſees better in the night then in the day. We weare not ſooner come to the firſt river, but our wildmen ſees 5 ſorts of people of divers countrys laden w^th^ marchandiſe and gunns, w^ch^ ſerved them for a ſhew then for defence if by chance they ſhould be ſett on. So that the glorie begins to ſhew itſſelfe, no order being obſerved among them. The one ſings, the other before goes in y^t^ poſture w^th^out bad encounter. We advanced 3 dayes. There was no need of ſuch a ſilence among us. Our men compoſed onely of ſeaven ſcore men, we had done well if we had kept together, not to goe before in the river, nor ſtay behind ſome 2 or 3 leagues. Some 3 or 4 boats now & then to land to kill a wild beaſt, & ſo putt themſelves into a danger of their lives, & if there weare any precipice the reſt ſhould be impotent to helpe. We warned them to looke to themſelves. They laughed att us, ſaying we weare women; that the Iroquoits durſt not ſett on them. That pride had ſuch power that they thought themſelves maſters of the earth; but they will ſee themſelves ſoone miſtaken. How that great God that takes great care of the moſt wild creatures, and will that every man confeſſes his faults, & gives them grace to come to obedience for the preſervation of their lives, ſends them a remarquable power & ordnance, w^ch^ ſhould give terrour and retinue to thoſe poore miſled people from the way of aſſurance.

As we wandered in the afforeſaid maner all a ſunder, there comes a man alone out of the wood w^th^ a hattchett in his hand, w^th^ his brayer, & a cover over his ſhoulders, making ſignes aloud y^t^ we ſhould come to him. The greateſt part of that flock ſhewed a paliſh face for feare att the ſight of this man, knowing him an ennemy. They approached not w^th^out feare & apprehenſion of ſome plot. By this you may ſee the boldneſſe of thoſe buzards, that think themſelves hectors when they ſee but their ſhadowes, & tremble when they ſee a Iroquoit. That wild man ſeeing us neerer, ſetts him downe on the ground & throwes his hattchett away & raiſes againe all naked, to ſhew that he hath no armes, deſires them to approach neerer for he is their friend, & would loſe his life to ſave theirs. Hee ſhewed in deed a right captayne for ſaveing of men that runned to their ruine by their indiſcretion & want of conduct; and what he did was out of meere piety, ſeeing well that they wanted wit, to goe ſo like a company of bucks, every one to his fancy, where his litle experience leads him, nor thinking that danger wherin they weare, ſhewing by their march they weare no men, for not fearing. As for him, he was ready to die to render them ſervice & priſoner into their hands freely. "For," ſaith he, "I might have eſcaped your ſight, but that I would have ſaved you. I feare," ſayth he, "not death"; ſo wth that comes downe into the watter to his midle. There comes many boats about him, takes him into one of the boats, tying a coard faſt about his body. There is he faſtned. He begins to ſing his fatal ſong that they call a nouroyall. That horrid tone being finiſhed, makes a long, a very long ſpeech, ſaying, "Brethren, y^{e} day the ſunne is favourable to mee, appointed mee to tell you that yee are witleſſe before I die, neither can they eſcape their ennemys, that are ſpred up and downe everywhere, that watches all moments their coming to deſtroy them. Take great courage, brethren, ſleepe not; the ennemy is att hand. They wait for you; they are ſoe neare that they ſee you, and heare you, & are ſure that you are their prey. Therefore I was willing to die to give you notice. For my part that what I have ben I am a man & commander in the warrs, and tooke ſeverall priſoners; yet I would put meſelfe in death's hands to ſave your lives. Believe me; keepe you altogether; ſpend not your powder in vaine, thinking to frighten your enemys by the noiſe of your guns. See if the ſtoanes of your arrowes be not bent or looſe; bend your bowes; open your ears; keepe your hattchetts ſharpe to cutt trees to make you a fort; doe not ſpend ſoe much greas to greas yourſelves, but keep it for your bellies. Stay not too long in the way. It's robbery to die with conduct."

That poore wretch ſpake the truth & gave good inſtructions, but the greateſt part did not underſtand what he ſaid, ſaving the hurrons that weare wth him, and I, that tould them as much as I could perceive. Every one laughs, ſaying he himſelf is afraid & tells us that ſtory. We call him a dogg, a woman, and a henne. We will make you know that we weare men, & for his paines we ſhould burne him when we come to our country. Here you ſhall ſee the brutiſhneſſe of thoſe people that think themſelves valliant to the laſt point. No compariſon is to be made w^th^ them for vallour, but quite contrary. They paſſe away the reſt of that day w^th^ great exclamations of joy, but it will not laſt long.

That night wee layd in our boats and made not the ketle boyle, becauſe we had meat ready dreſſed. Every boat is tyed up in the ruſhes, whether out of feare for what the priſoner told them, or that the priſoner ſhould eſcape, I know not. They went to ſleepe w^th^out any watch. The ffrench began to wiſh & moane for that place from whence they came from. What will it be if wee heare yeatt cryes & ſorrows after all? Paſt the breake of day every one takes his oare to row; the formoſt oares have great advantage. We heard the torrent rumble, but could not come to the land that day, although not farr from us. Some twelve boats gott afore us. Theſe weare ſaluted w^th^ guns & outcrys. In the meane while one boat runs one way, one another; ſome men lands and runs away. We are all put to it; non knowes where he is, they are put to ſuch a confuſion. All thoſe beaſts gathers together againe frighted. Seeing no way to eſcape, gott themſelves all in a heape like unto ducks that ſees the eagle come to them.

That firſt feare being over a litle, they reſolved to land & to make a fort w^th^ all ſpeed, w^ch^ was done in leſſe then two houres. The moſt ſtupideſt drowſy are the nimbleſt for the hattchett & cutting of trees. The fort being finiſhed, every one maketh himſelfe in a readineſs to ſuſtaine the aſſult if any had tempted. The priſoner was brought, who ſoone was deſpatched, burned & roaſted & eaten. The Iroquoits had ſo ſerved them, as many as they have taken. We miſt 20 of our company, but ſome came ſafe to us, & loſt 13 y^{t} weare killed & taken in that defeat. The Iroquoite finding himſelfe weake would not venture, & was obliged to leave us leaſt he ſhould be diſcovered & ſerved as the other. Neverthteleſſe they ſhewed good countenances, went & builded a fort as we have done, where they fortified themſelves & feed on human fleſh w^{ch} they gott in the warres. They weare afraid as much as we, but far from that; ffor the night being come, every one imbarks himſelfe, to the ſound of a low trumpet, by the help of the darkneſſe. We went to the other ſide, leaving our marchandiſes for our ranſome to the ennemy that uſed us ſo unkindly. We made ſome cariages that night wth a world of paines. We miſt 4 of our boats, ſo that we muſt alter our equipages. The wildmen complained much that the ffrench could not ſwime, for that they might be together. The ffrench ſeeing that they weare not able to undergo ſuch a voyage, they conſult together & for concluſion reſolved to give an end to ſuch labours & dangers; moreover, found themſelves incapable to follow the wildmen who went wth all the ſpeed poſſible night & day for the feare that they weare in. The ffathers, ſeeing our weakneſſe, deſired the wildmen that they might have one or two to direct them, w^{ch} by no means was granted, but bid us doe as the reſt. We kept ſtill our reſolution, & knowing more tricks then they, would not goe back, w^{ch} ſhould be but diſdainful & prejudiciall. We told them ſo plainly y^{t} we would finiſh that voyage or die by the way. Beſides that the wildmen did not complaine of us att all, but incouraged us. After a long arguing, every one had the liberty to goe backwards or forwards, if any had courage to venter himſelfe wth us. Seeing the great difficulties, all wth one conſent went back againe, and we went on.

The wildmen weare not ſorry for their departure, becauſe of their ignorance in the affaire of ſuch navigation. It 's a great alteration to ſee one and 30 reduced to 2. We encouraged one another, both willing to live & die wth one another; & yt [is] ye leaſt we could doe, being brothers. Before we [went] to the lake of the hurrons we had croſſes enough, but no encounter. We travelled onely in the night in theſe dangerous places, wch could not be done wthout many vexations & labours. The vanity was ſomewhat cooler for the example we have ſeene the day before. The hungar was that tormented us moſt; for him we could not goe ſeeke for ſome wild beaſts. Our chiefeſt food was onely ſome few fiſhes wch the wildmen caught by a line, may be two dozens a whole day, no bigger then my hand.

Being come to the place of repoſe, ſome did goe along the water ſide on the rocks & there expoſed ourſelves to the rigour of the weather. Upon theſe rocks we find ſome ſhells, blackiſh wthout and ye inner part whitiſh by reaſon of the heat of the ſun & of the humidity. They are in a maner glued to the rock; ſo we muſt gett another ſtone to gett them off by ſcraping them hard. When we thought to have enough [we] went back again to the Cottages, where the reſt weare getting the litle fiſhes ready wth trips,[47] gutts and all. The kittle was full wth the ſcraping of the rocks, w^{ch} ſoone after it boyled became like ſtarch, black and clammie & eaſily to be ſwallowed. I think if any bird had lighted upon the excrements of y^{e} ſaid ſtuff, they had ſtuck' to it as if it weare glue. In the fields we have gathered ſeverall fruits, as gooſberyes, blackberrys, that in an houre we gathered above a buſhell of ſuch ſorte, although not as yett full ripe. We boyled it, and then every one had his ſhare. Heere was daintineſſe ſlighted. The belly did not permitt us to gett on neither ſhoos nor ſtockins, that the better we might goe over the rocks, w^{ch} did [make] our feet ſmart [ſo] that we came backe. Our feet & thighs & leggs weare ſcraped wth thorns, in a heape of blood. The good God looked uppon thoſe infidels by ſending them now & then a beare into the river, or if we perceived any in an Iſle forced them to ſwime, that by that means we might the ſooner kill them. But the moſt parts there abouts is ſo ſterill that there is nothing to be ſeene but rocks & ſand, & on the high wayes but deale trees that grow moſt miraculouſly, for that earth is not to be ſeene than can nouriſh the root, & moſt of them trees are very bigg & high. We tooke a litle refreſhment in a place called the lake of Caſtors, w^{ch} is ſome 30 leagues from the firſt great lake. Some of thoſe wildmen hid a reſt[48] as they went down to the ffrench; but the lake was ſo full of fiſhes we tooke ſo much that ſerved us a long while.

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[47] *Trips*, — meaning "tripe des roche, a ſpecies of lichen, which being boiled reſolves itſelf into a black glue, nauſeous but not without nouriſh-

We came to a place where weare abundance of Otters, in ſo much that I believe all gathered to hinder our paſſage. We killed ſome wth our arrows, not daring to ſhoote becauſe we

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ment." *Diſcovery of the Great Weſt,* by Parkman.

[48] "Hid a reſt," or cache.

we diſcovered there abouts ſome tracks, judging to be our ennemy by the impreſſion of their feet in y^{e} ſand. All knowes there one another by their march, for each hath his proper ſteps, ſome upon their toes, ſome on their heele, w^{ch} is natural to them, for when they are infants the mother wrapeth them to their mode. Heer I ſpeake not of the horrid ſtreams we paſſed, nor of the falls of y^{e} water, w^{ch} weare of an incredible height. In ſome parts moſt faire & delicious, where people formerly lived onely by what they could gett by the bow & arrows. We weare come above 300 leagues allwayes againſt the ſtreame, & made 60 carriages, beſides drawing, beſides the ſwift ſtreams we overcame by the oares & poles to come to y^{t} litle lake of Caſtors w^{ch} may be 30 or 40 leagues in compaſſe. The upper end of it is full of Iſlands, where there is not time loſt to wander about, finding wherewthall to make the kettle boyle wth veniſon, great bears, caſtors & fiſhes, w^{ch} are plenty in that place. The river that we goe to the great lake is ſomewhat favorable. We goe downe wth eaſe & runing of the watter, w^{ch} empties itſſelfe in that lake in w^{ch} we are now coming in. This river hath but 8 high & violent ſtreams, w^{ch} is ſome 30 leagues in length. The place where we weare is a bay all full of rocks, ſmall iſles, & moſt between wind and water wth an infinite [number] of fiſhes, w^{ch} are ſeene in the water ſo cleare as chriſtiall. That is the reaſon of ſo many otters, that lives onely uppon fiſh. Each of us begins to looke to his bundle & merchandizes and prepare himſelfe for the bad weather that uſes to be on that great extent of water. The wildmen finds what they hid among the rocks 3 months before they came up to the french. Heere we are ſtiring about in our boats as nimble as bees and divided ourſelves into 2 companys. Seaven boats went towards weſt norweſt and the reſt to the South.

After we mourned enough for the death of our deare countrymen that weare ſlained coming up, we take leave of each other w^th^ promiſe of amitie & good correſpondence one w^th^ another, as for the continuance of peace, as for the aſſiſtance of ſtrength, if the enemy ſhould make an aſſault. That they ſhould not goe to the french w^th^out giving notice one to another & ſoe goe together. We that weare for the South went on ſeverall dayes merily, & ſaw by the way the place where the ffathers Jeſuits had heretofore lived; a delicious place, albeit we could but ſee it afarre off. The coaſt of this lake is moſt delightfull to the minde. The lands ſmooth, and woods of all ſorts. In many places there are many large open fields where in, I believe, wildmen formerly lived before y^e^ deſtruction of the many nations w^ch^ did inhabit, and tooke more place then 600 leagues about; for I can well ſay that from the river of Canada to y^e^ great lake of the hurrons, w^ch^ is neere 200 leagues in length & 60 in breadth, as I gueſſe, for I have [been] round about it, plenty of fiſh. There are banks of ſand 5 or 6 leagues from the waterſide, where ſuch an infinite deale of fiſh that ſcarcely we are able to draw out our nett. There are fiſhes as bigg as children of 2 years old. There is ſturgeon enough & other ſorte that is not knowne to us. The South part is w^th^out iſles, onely in ſome bayes where there are ſome. It is delightfull to goe along the ſide of the watter in ſummer where you may pluck y^e^ ducks.

We muſt ſtay often in a place 2 or 3 dayes for the contrary winds; ffor [if] the winds weare anything high, we durſt not venter the boats againſt the impetuoſity of the waves, w^{ch} is the reaſon that our voyages are ſo long and tedious. A great many large deep rivers empties themſelves in that lake, and an infinit number of other ſmall rivers, that cann beare boats, and all from lakes & pools w^{ch} are in abundance in that country.

After we travelled many dayes we arrived att a large iſland where we found their village, their wives & children. You muſt know that we paſſed a ſtrait ſome 3 leagues beyond that place. The wildmen give it a name; it is another lake, but not ſo bigg as that we paſſed before. We calle it the lake of the ſtaring hairs, becauſe thoſe that live about it have their hair like a bruſh turned up. They all have a hole in their noſe, w^{ch} is done by a ſtraw w^{ch} is above a foot long. It barrs their faces. Their ears have ordinarily 5 holes, where one may putt the end of his finger. They uſe thoſe holes in this ſort: to make themſelves gallant they paſſe through it a ſkrew of coper w^{th} much dexterity, and goe on the lake in that poſture. When the winter comes they weare no capes becauſe of their haire tourned up. They fill thoſe ſkrews w^{th} ſwan's downe, & w^{th} it their ears covered; but I dare ſay that the people doe not for to hold out the cold, but rather for pride, ffor their country is not ſo cold as the north, and other lakes that we have ſeene ſince.

It ſhould be difficult to deſcribe what variety of faces our arrivement did cauſe, ſome out of joy, others out of ſadneſſe. Neverthleleſſe the numbers of joyfull exceeded that of the ſorrowfull. The ſeaſon began to invite the luſtieſt to hunting. We neither deſire to be idle in any place, having learned by experience that idleneſſe is the mother of all evil, for it breeds moſt part of all ſickneſſe in thoſe parts where the aire is moſt delightfull. So that they who had moſt knowledge in theſe quarters had familiarity wth the people that live there about ye laſt lake.

The nation that we weare wth had warrs wth the Iroquoits, and muſt trade. Our wildmen out of feare muſt conſent to their ennemy to live in their land. It's true that thoſe who lived about the firſt lake had not for the moſt part ye conveniency of our french merchandiſe, as ſince, wch obliged moſt of the remoteſt people to make peace, conſidering the enemy of theirs that came as a thunder bolt upon them, ſo that they joyned with them & forgett what was paſt for their owne preſervation. Att our coming there we made large guifts, to dry up the tears of the friends of the deceaſed. As we came there the circumjacent neighbours came to viſit us, that bid us welcome, as we are ſo. There comes newes that there weare ennemy in the fields, that they weare ſeene att the great field. There is a councell called, & reſolved that they ſhould be ſearched & ſett uppon them as [ſoon as] poſſible may be, wch [was] executed ſpeedily. I offered my ſervice, ſoe went and looked for them 2 dayes; finding them the 3d day, gave them the aſſault when they leaſt thought off it. We played the game ſo furiouſly that none eſcaped.

The day following we returned to our village wth 8 of our enemys dead and 3 alive. The dead weare eaten & the living weare burned wth a ſmall fire to the rigour of cruelties, wch comforted the deſolat to ſee them revenged of the death of their relations that was ſo ſerved. We weare then poſſeſſed by the hurrons and Octanac; but our minde was not to ſtay in an iſland, but to be knowne w^th^ the remoteſt people. The victory that we have gotten made them conſent to what we could deſire, & becauſe that we ſhewed willing[neſs] to die for their defence. So we deſired to goe w^th^ a company of theirs that was going to the nation of y^e^ ſtairing haires.

We weare wellcomed & much made of, ſaying that we weare the Gods & devils of the earth; that we ſhould fourniſh them, & that they would bring us to their ennemy to deſtroy them. We tould them [we] were very well content. We perſuaded them firſt to come peaceably, not to deſtroy them preſently, and if they would not condeſcend, then would wee throw away the hattchett and make uſe of our thunders. We ſent ambaſſadors to them w^th^ guifts. That nation called Pontonatemick w^th^out more adoe comes & meets us w^th^ the reſt, & peace was concluded. Feaſts were made & dames w^th^ guifts came of each ſide, w^th^ a great deale of mirth.

We viſited them during that winter, & by that means we made acquaintance w^th^ an other nation called Eſcotecke, w^ch^ ſignified fire, a faire proper nation; they are tall & bigg & very ſtrong. We came there in the ſpring. When we arrived there weare extraordinary banquetts. There they never have ſeen men w^th^ beards, becauſe they pull their haires as ſoone as it comes out; but much more aſtoniſhed when they ſaw our armes, eſpecially our guns, w^ch^ they worſhipped by blowing ſmoake of tobacco inſtead of ſacrifice. I will not inſiſt much upon their way of living, ffor of their ceremonys heere you will ſee a pattern.

In the laſt voyage that wee made I will lett you onely know what cours we runned in 3 years' time. We deſired them to lett us know their neighboring nations. They gave us the names, w^{ch} I hope to deſcribe their names in the end of this moſt imperfect diſcours, at leaſt thoſe that I can remember. Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon, w^{ch} is very ſtrong, wth whome they weare in warres wth, & another wandering nation, living onely uppon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the ſide of the ſalt watter in ſummer time, & in the land in the winter time, for it's cold in their country. They calle themſelves Chriſtinos, & their confederats from all times, by reaſon of their ſpeech, w^{ch} is y^{e} ſame, & often have joyned together & have had companys of ſouldiers to warre againſt that great nation. We deſired not to goe to the North till we had made a diſcovery in the South, being deſirous to know what they did. They told us if we would goe wth them to the great lake of the ſtinkings, the time was come of their trafick, w^{ch} was of as many knives as they could gett from the french nation, becauſe of their dwellings, w^{ch} was att the coming in of a lake called Superior, but ſince the deſtructions of many neighboring nations they retired themſelves to the height of the lake. We knewed thoſe people well. We went to them almoſt yearly, and the company that came up wth us weare of y^{e} ſaid nation, but never could tell punctually where they lived becauſe they make the barre of the Chriſtinos from whence they have the Caſtors that they bring to the french. This place is 600 leagues off, by reaſon of the circuit that we muſt doe. The hurrons & the Octanacks, from whence we came laſt, furniſhes them alſo, & comes to the furtheſt part of the lake of the Stinkings, there to have light earthen pots, and girdles made of goat's hairs, & ſmall ſhells that grow att the ſea ſide, wth w^{ch} they trim their cloath made of ſkin.

We finding this opportunity would not lett it ſlippe, but made guifts, telling that the other nation would ſtand in feare of them becauſe of us. We flattered them, ſaying none would dare to give them the leaſt wrong, in ſo much that many of the Octanacks that weare preſent to make the ſame voyage. I can aſſure you I liked noe country as I have that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could deſire was to be had in great plenty; viz. ſtaggs, fiſhes in abundance, & all ſort of meat, corne enough. Thoſe of the 2 nations would not come wth us, but turned back to their nation. We neverthelesſe put ourſelves in hazard, for our curioſity, of ſtay 2 or 3 years among that nation. We ventured, for that we underſtand ſome of their idiome & truſted to that.

We embarked ourſelves on the delightfulleſt lake of the world. I tooke notice of their Cottages & of the journeys of our navigation, for becauſe that the country was ſo pleaſant, ſo beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to ſee y^{t} y^{e} world could not diſcover ſuch inticing countrys to live in. This I ſay becauſe that the Europeans fight for a rock in the ſea againſt one another, or for a ſterill land and horrid country, that the people ſent heere or there by the changement of the aire ingenders ſickneſſe and dies thereof. Contrarywiſe thoſe kingdoms are ſo delicious & under ſo temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long & luſty & wiſe in their way. What conqueſt would that bee att litle or no coſt; what laborinth of pleaſure ſhould millions of people have, inſtead that millions complaine of miſery & poverty! What ſhould not men reape out of the love of God in converting the ſouls heere, is more to be gained to heaven then what is by differences of nothing there, ſhould not be ſo many dangers committed under the pretence of religion! Why ſo many thoeſoever are hid from us by our owne faults, by our negligence, covetouſneſſe, & unbeliefe. It 's true, I confeſſe, that the acceſſe is difficult, but muſt ſay that we are like the Cockſcombs of Paris, when firſt they begin to have wings, imagining that the larks will fall in their mouths roaſted; but we ought [to remember] that vertue is not acquired wthout labour & taking great paines.

We meet wth ſeverall nations, all ſedentary, amazed to ſee us, & weare very civil. The further we ſejourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can ſay that [in] my lifetime I never ſaw a more incomparable country, for all I have ben in Italy; yett Italy comes ſhort of it, as I think, when it was inhabited, & now forſaken of the wildmen. Being about the great ſea, we converſed wth people that dwelleth about the ſalt water,[40] who tould us that they ſaw ſome great white thing ſometimes uppon the water, & came towards the ſhore, & men in the top of it, and made a noiſe like a company of ſwans; w^{ch} made me believe that they weare miſtaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniard; & the reaſon is that we found a barill broken as they uſe in Spaine. Thoſe people have their haires long. They reape twice a yeare; they are called Tatarga, that is to ſay, buff. They warre againſt Nadoneceronons, and warre alſo againſt y^{e} Chriſtinos. Theſe 2 doe no great harme to one another, becauſe the lake is betweene both. They are generally ſtout men, that they are able to defend themſelves. They come but once a year to fight. If the ſeaſon of the yeare had permitted us to ſtay, for we intended to goe backe the yeare following, we had indeavoured to make peace betweene them. We had not as yett ſeene the nation Nadoneceronons. We had hurrons wth us. Wee perſuaded them to come along to ſee their owne nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to gett ſome caſtors there to bring downe to the ffrench, ſeeing [it] att laſt impoſſible to us to make ſuch a circuit in a twelve month's time. We weare every where much made of; neither wanted victualls, for all the different nations that we mett conducted us & furniſhed us wth all neceſſaries. Tending to thoſe people, went towards the South & came back by the north.

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[40] "That dwelleth about the ſalt water;" namely, Hudſon's Bay.

The Summer paſſed away wth admiration by the diverſity of the nations that we ſaw, as for the beauty of the ſhore of that ſweet ſea. Heere we ſaw fiſhes of divers, ſome like the ſturgeons & have a kind of ſlice att the end of their noſe ſome 3 fingers broad in the end and 2 onely neere the noſe, and ſome 8 thumbs long, all marbled of a blakiſh collor. There are birds whoſe bills are two and 20 thumbs long. That bird ſwallows a whole ſalmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We ſaw alſoe ſhee-goats very bigg. There is an animal ſomewhat leſſe then a cow whoſe meat is exceeding good. There is no want of Staggs nor Buffes. There are ſo many Tourkeys that the boys throws ſtoanes att them for their recreation. We found no ſea-ſerpents as we in other laks have ſeene, eſpecially in that of d'Ontario and that of y^{e}

ſtairing haires. There are ſome in that of the hurrons, but ſcarce, for the great cold in winter. They come not neere the upper lake. In that of ye ſtairing haires I ſaw yong boy [who] was bitten. He tooke immediately his ſtony knife & w^th^ a pointed ſtick & cutts off the whole wound, being no other remedy for it. They are great ſorcerors & turns the wheele. I ſhall ſpeake of this at large in my laſt voyage. Moſt of the ſhores of the lake is nothing but ſand. There are mountains to be ſeene farre in the land. There comes not ſo many rivers from that lake as from others; theſe that flow from it are deeper and broader, the trees are very bigg, but not ſo thick. There is a great diſtance from one another, & a quantitie of all ſorts of fruits, but ſmall. The vines grows all by the river ſide; the lemons are not ſo bigg as ours, and ſowrer. The grape is very bigg, greene, is ſeene there att all times. It never ſnows nor freezes there, but mighty hot; yett for all that the country is not ſo unwholſom, ffor we ſeldome have ſeene infirmed people. I will ſpeake of their manners in my laſt voyage, w^ch^ I made in October.

We came to the ſtrait of the 2 lakes of the ſtinkings and y^e^ upper lake, where there are litle iſles towards Norweſt, ffew towards the ſoutheſt, very ſmall. The lake towards the North att the ſide of it is full of rocks & ſand, yett great ſhipps can ride on it w^th^out danger. We being of 3 nations arrived there w^th^ booty, diſputed awhile, ffor ſome would returne to their country. That was y^e^ nation of y^e^ fire, & would have us backe to their dwelling. We by all means would know the Chriſtinos. To goe backe was out of our way. We contented the hurrons to our advantage w^th^

promiſes

promiſes & others w^th^ hope, and perſuaded the Octonack to keepe his reſolution, becauſe we weare but 5 ſmall fine dayes from thoſe of late that lived in the ſault of the coming in of the ſaid upper lake, from whence that name of ſalt, w^ch^ is *panoeſtigonce* in the wild language, w^ch^ heerafter we will call the nation of the ſalt.

Not many years ſince that they had a cruell warre againſt the Nadoneſeronons. Although much inferiour in numbers, nevertheleſſe that ſmall number of the ſalt was a terror unto them, ſince they had trade w^th^ the ffrench. They never have ſeene ſuch inſtruments as the ffrench furniſhed them w^th^all. It is a proude nation, therfore would not ſubmitt, although they had to doe w^th^ a bigger nation 30 times then they weare, becauſe that they weare called ennemy by all thoſe y^t^ have y^e^ accent of the Algonquin language, that the wild men call Nadone, w^ch^ is the beginning of their name. The Iroquoits have the title of bad ennemy, Maeſocchy Nadone. Now ſeeing that the Chriſtinos had hattchetts & knives, for that they reſolved to make peace w^th^ thoſe of the ſault, that durſt not have gon hundred of leagues uppon that upper lake w^th^ aſſurance. They would not hearken to anything becauſe their general reſolved to make peace w^th^ thoſe of the Chriſtinos & an other nation that gott gunns, y^e^ noiſe of w^ch^ had frighted them more then the bulletts y^t^ weare in them. The time approached, there came about 100 of the nation of the Sault to thoſe that lived towards the north. The chriſtinos gott a bigger company & fought a batail. Some weare ſlaine of both ſids. The Captayne of theſe of the Sault loſt his eye by an arrow. The batail being over he made a ſpeech, & ſaid that he loſt his ſight of one ſide, &

of the other he foreſee what he would doe; his courage being abject by that loſſe, that he himſelfe ſhould be ambaſſador & conclud the peace.

He ſeeing that the Iroquoits came too often, a viſit I muſt confeſſe very diſpleaſing, being that ſome [of] ours looſes their lives or liberty, ſo that we retired ourſelves to the higher lake neerer the nation of the Nadoneceronons, where we weare well receaved, but weare miſtruſted when many weare ſeene together. We arrived then where the nation of the Sault was, where we found ſome french men y^t^ came up w^th^ us, who thanked us kindly for to come & viſit them. The wild Octanaks that came w^th^ us found ſome of their nations ſlaves, who weare alſo glad to ſee them. For all they weare ſlaves they had meat enough, w^ch^ they have not in their owne country ſo plentifull, being no huntſmen, but altogether ffiſhers. As for thoſe towards the north, they are moſt expert in hunting, & live uppon nothing elſe the moſt part of the yeare. We weare long there before we gott acquaintance w^th^ thoſe that we deſired ſo much, and they in lik maner had a fervent deſire to know us, as we them. Heer comes a company of Chriſtinos from the bay of the North ſea, to live more at eaſe in the midle of woods & foreſts, by reaſon they might trade w^th^ thoſe of the Sault & have the Conveniency to kill more beaſts.

There we paſſed the winter & learned the particularitie that ſince wee ſaw by Experience. Heere I will not make a long diſcours during that time, onely made good cheere & killed ſtaggs, Buffes, Elends, and Caſtors. The Chriſtinos had ſkill in y^t^ game above y^e^ reſt. The ſnow proved favourable that yeare, w^ch^ cauſed much plenty of every thing. Moſt of the woods & foreſts are very thick, ſo that it was in ſome places as darke as in a cellar, by reaſon of the boughs of trees. The ſnow that falls, being very light, hath not the ſtrenght to ſtopp the eland,[80] w^{ch} is a mighty ſtrong beaſt, much like a mule, having a tayle cutt off 2 or 3 or 4 thumbes long, the foot cloven like a ſtagge. He has a muzzle mighty bigge. I have ſeene ſome that have the noſtrills ſo bigg that I putt into it my 2 fiſts att once wth eaſe. Thoſe that uſes to be where the buffes be are not ſo bigg, but about the bigneſſe of a coach horſe. The wildmen call them the litle ſort. As for the Buff, it is a furious animal. One muſt have a care of him, for every yeare he kills ſome Nadoneſeronons. He comes for the moſt part in y^{e} plaines & meddows; he feeds like an ox, and the Oriniack ſo but ſeldom he galopps. I have ſeene of their hornes that a man could not lift them from of the ground. They are branchy & flatt in the midle, of w^{ch} the wildman makes diſhes y^{t} can well hold 3 quarts. Theſe hornes fall off every yeare, & it 's a thing impoſſible that they will grow againe. The horns of Buffs are as thoſe of an ox, but not ſo long, but bigger, & of a blackiſh collour; he hath a very long hairy taile; he is reddiſh, his haire frized & very fine. All the parts of his body much [like] unto an ox. The biggeſt are bigger then any ox whatſoever. Thoſe are to be found about the lake of y^{e} Stinkings & towards the North of the ſame. They come not to the upper lake but by chance. It 's a pleaſur to find the place of their abode, for they tourne round about compaſſing 2 or 3 acres of land, beating yᵉ ſnow wᵗʰ their feete, & coming to the center they lye downe & riſe againe to eate the bows of trees yᵗ they can reach. They go not out of their circle that they have made untill hunger compells them.

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[80] *Elend*, plainly the Mooſe. "They appear to derive their Dutch appellation (*eelanden*) from *elende*, miſery, becauſe they die of the ſmalleſt wound." *Documentary Hiſtory of New York*, by O'Callaghan, Vol. IV. p. 77.

We did what we could to have correſpondence wᵗʰ that warlick nation & reconcile them wᵗʰ the Chriſtinos. We went not there that winter. Many weare ſlained of both ſides the ſummer laſt. The wound was yett freſh, wherfore it was hard to conclude peace between them. We could doe nothing, ffor we intended to turne back to the ffrench the ſummer following. Two years weare expired. We hoped to be att yᵉ 2 years end with thoſe that gave us over for dead, having before to come back at a year's end. As we are once in thoſe remote countreys we cannot doe as we would. Att laſt we declared our mind firſt to thoſe of the Sault, encouraging thoſe of the North that we are their brethren, & that we would come back & force their enemy to peace or that we would help againſt them. We made guifts one to another, and thwarted a land of allmoſt 50 leagues before the ſnow was melted. In the morning it was a pleaſur to walke, for we could goe wᵗʰout racketts. The ſnow was hard enough, becauſe it freezed every night. When the ſun began to ſhine we payᵈ for yᵉ time paſt. The ſnow ſticks ſo to our racketts that I believe our ſhoes weighed 30 pounds, wᶜʰ was a paine, having a burden uppon our backs beſides.

We arrived, ſome 150 of us, men & women, to a river ſide, where we ſtayed 3 weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fiſh. During that time we made feaſts att a high rate. So we refreſhed ourſelves from our labours. In that time we tooke notice that the budds of trees began to ſpring, wᶜʰ made us to make more haſt & be gone. We went up y^t river 8 dayes till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick & Matonenock; that is, the ſcrattchers. There we gott ſome Indian meale & corne from thoſe 2 nations, w^{ch} laſted us till we came to the firſt landing Iſle. There we weare well received againe. We made guifts to the Elders to encourage the yong people to bring us downe to the ffrench. But mightily miſtaken; ffor they would reply, "Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquoits are every where about the river & undoubtedly will deſtroy us if we goe downe, & afterwards our wives & thoſe that ſtayed behinde. Be wiſe, brethren, & offer not to goe downe this yeare to the ffrench. Lett us keepe our lives." We made many private ſuits, but all in vaine. That vexed us moſt that we had given away moſt of our merchandiſes & ſwapped a great deale for Caſtors. Moreover they made no great harveſt, being but newly there. Beſide, they weare no great huntſmen. Our journey was broaken till y^e next yeare, & muſt per force.

Y^t ſummer I went a hunting, & my brother ſtayed where he was welcome & putt up a great deale of Indian corne that was given him. He intended to furniſh the wildmen that weare to goe downe to the ffrench if they had not enough. The wild men did not perceive this; ffor if they wanted any, we could hardly kept it for our uſe. The winter paſſes away in good correſpondence one wth another, & ſent ambaſſadors to the nations that uſes to goe downe to y^e french, w^{ch} rejoyced them the more & made us paſſe that yeare wth a greater pleaſur, ſaving that my brother fell into the falling ſickneſſe, & many weare ſorry for it. That proceeded onely of a long ſtay in a new diſcovered country, &

the idleneſſe contributs much to it. There is nothing comparable to exerciſe. It is y^e^ onely remedy of ſuch diſeaſes. After he languiſhed awhile God gave him his health againe.

The deſire that every one had to goe downe to the ffrench made them earneſtly looke out for caſtors. They have not ſo many there as in the north part, ſo in the beginning of ſpring many came to our Iſle. There weare no leſſe, I believe, then 500 men that weare willing to venter themſelves. The corne that my brother kept did us a world of ſervice. The wildmen brought a quantity of fleſh ſalted in a veſell. When we weare ready to depart, heere comes ſtrang news of y^e^ defeat of y^e^ hurrons, w^ch^ news, I thought, would putt off the voyage. There was a councell held, & moſt of them weare againſt the goeing downe to the ffrench, ſaying that the Iroquoits weare to barre this yeare, & the beſt way was to ſtay till the following yeare. And now the ennemy, ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated of his expectation, would not ſtay longer, thinking thereby that we weare reſolved never more to go downe, and that next yeare there ſhould be a bigger company, & better able to oppoſe an ennemy. My brother & I, ſeeing ourſelves all out of hopes of our voyage, w^th^out our corne, w^ch^ was allready beſtowed, & w^th^out any merchandiſe, or ſcarce having one knife betwixt us both, ſo we weare in a great apprehenſion leaſt that the hurrons ſhould, as they have done often, when the ffathers weare in their country, kill a frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready & many more that thought long to depart thence for marchandiſe, we uppon this reſolved to call a publique councell in the place; w^ch^ the Elders hearing, came and adviſed us not to undertake it, giving many faire words, ſaying, "Brethren, why are you ſuch ennemys to yourſelves to putt yourſelves in the hands of thoſe that wait for you? They will deſtroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren deſtroyed that loves you, being ſlained? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next yeare, & then you are like to have y^{e} number of 600 men in company wth you. Then you may freely goe wthout intermiſſion. Yee ſhall take the church along wth you, & the ffathers & mothers will ſęnd their children to be taught in the way of truth of the Lord." Our anſwer was that we would ſpeake in publique, w^{ch} granted, the day appointed is come. There gathered above 800 men to ſee who ſhould have the glorie in a round. They ſatt downe on y^{e} ground. We deſired ſilence. The elders being in the midle & we in their midle, my brother began to ſpeake. "Who am I? am I a foe or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you ſuffer me to live ſo long among you? If I am friend, & if you take ſo to be, hearken to what I ſhall ſay. You know, my uncles & brethren, that I hazarded my life goeing up wth you; if I have no courage, why did you not tell me att my firſt coming here? & if you have more witt then we, why did not you uſe it by preſerving your knives, your hattchetts, & your gunns, that you had from the ffrench? You will ſee if the ennemy will ſett upon you that you will be attraped like caſtors in a trape; how will you defend yourſelves like men that is not courageous to lett yourſelves be catched like beaſts? How will you defend villages? wth caſtors' ſkins? how will you defend your wives & children from the ennemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me ſtand up, saying, "Shew them the way to make warrs if they are able to uphold it." I tooke a gowne of caſtors' ſkins that one of them had uppon his ſhoulder & did beat him wth it. I aſked the others if I was a ſouldier. "Thoſe are the armes that kill, & not your robes. What will your ennemy ſay when you periſh wthout defending yourſelves? Doe not you know the ffrench way? We are uſed to fight wth armes & not wth robes. You ſay that the Iroquoits waits for you becauſe ſome of your men weare killed. It is onely to make you ſtay untill you are quite out of ſtocke, that they diſpatch you wth eaſe. Doe you think that the ffrench will come up here when the greateſt part of you is ſlained by your owne fault? You know that they cannot come up wthout you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learne to be ſlaves among the Iroquoits for their ffathers' cowardneſſe? You call me Iroquoit. Have not you ſeene me diſpoſing my life wth you? Who has given you your life if not the ffrench? Now you will not venter becauſe many of your confederates are come to viſit you & venter their lives wth you. If you will deceave them you muſt not think y^{t} they will come an other time for ſhy words nor deſire. You have ſpoaken of it firſt, doe what you will. For myne owne part, I will venter chooſing to die like a man then live like a beggar. Having not wherewithall to defend myſelfe, farewell; I have my ſack of corne ready. Take all my caſtors. I ſhall live wthout you." & then departed y^{t} company.

They weare amazed of our proceeding; they ſtayed long before they ſpoake one to another. Att laſt ſent us ſome conſiderable perſons who bid us cheare up. "We ſee that you are in the right; the voyage is not broaken. The yong people tooke very ill that you have beaten them wth the ſkin. All avowed to die like men & undertake ye journey. You ſhall heare what the councell will ordaine the morrow. They are to meet privatly & you ſhall be called to it. Cheare up & ſpeake as you have done; that is my councell to you. For this you will remember me when you will ſee me in your country; ffor I will venter meſelfe wth you." Now we are more ſatisfied then ye day before. We weare to uſe all rhetorique to perſuade them to goe downe, ffor we ſaw the country languiſh very much, ffor they could not ſubſiſt, & moreover they weare afraid of us. The counceil is called, but we had no need to make a ſpeech, finding them diſpoſed to make the voyage & to ſubmitt. "Yee women gett your huſbands' bundles ready. They goe to gett wherwithall to defend themſelves & you alive."

Our equipage was ready in 6 dayes. We embarked ourſelves. We weare in number about 500, all ſtout men. We had wth us a great ſtore of caſtors' ſkins. We came to the South. We now goe back to the north, becauſe to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We paſſed the lake wthout dangers. We wanted nothing, having good ſtore of corne & netts to catch fiſh, wch is plentyfull in ye rivers. We came to a place where 8 Iroquoits wintered. That was the company that made a ſlaughter before our departure from home. Our men repented now they did not goe ſooner, ffor it might be they ſhould have ſurpriſed them.

Att laſt we are out of thoſe lakes. One hides a caſke of meale, the other his campiron, & all that could be cumberſome.

After many paines & labours wee arrived to the Sault of Columeſt, ſo called becauſe of the Stones that are there very convenient to make tobacco pipes. We are now within 100 leagues of the french habitation, & hitherto no bad encounter. We ſtill found tracks of men w^ch^ made us ſtill to have the more care and guard of ourſelves. Some 30 leagues from this place we killed wild cowes & then gott ourſelves into cottages, where we heard ſome guns goe off, w^ch^ made us putt out our fires & imbark ourſelves w^th^ all ſpeed. We navigated all that night. About the breake of day we made a ſtay, that not to goe through y^e^ violent ſtreames for feare the Ennemy ſhould be there to diſpute y^e^ paſſage. We landed & inſtantly ſent 2 men to know whether the paſſage was free. They weare not halfe a mile off when we ſee a boat of the ennemy thwarting the river, w^ch^ they had not done w^th^out diſcovering our boats, having nothing to cover our boats nor hide them. Our lighteſt boats ſhewed themſelves by purſueing y^e^ ennemy. They did ſhoot, but to no effect, w^ch^ made our two men come back in all haſt. We ſeeing ourſelves but merchandmen, ſo we would not long follow a man of warre, becauſe he runned ſwifter then ours.

We proceeded in our way w^th^ great diligence till we came to the carriage place, where the one halfe of our men weare in readineſſe, whilſt the other halfe carried the baggage & the boats. We had a great alarum, but no hurt done. We ſaw but one boat, but have ſeene foure more going up the river. Methinks they thought themſelves ſome what weake for us, w^ch^ perſuaded us [of] 2 things: 1ſt, that they weare afraid; 2ndly, that they went to warne their company, w^ch^ thing warned us the more to make haſt.

The 2nd day att evening after we landed & boyled an horiniack w^ch^ we killed. We then ſee 16 boats of our enemy coming. They no ſooner perceived us but they went on the other ſide of the river. It was a good looke for us to have ſeene them. Our wildmen did not ſay what they thought, ffor they eſteemed themſelves already loſt. We encouraged them & deſired them to have courage & not [be] afraid, & ſo farr as I think we weare ſtrong enough for them, that we muſt ſtoutly goe & meet them, and they ſhould ſtand ſtill. We ſhould be alltogether, & put our caſtors' ſkins upon pearches, w^ch^ could keepe us from the ſhott, w^ch^ we did. We had foure & 20 gunns ready, and gave them to the hurrons, who knewed how to handle them better then y^e^ others. The Iroquoits ſeeing us come, & y^t^ we weare 5 to 1, could not imagine what to doe. Neverthleleſſe they would ſhew their courage; being that they muſt paſſe, they putt themſelves in array to fight. If we had not ben w^th^ ſome hurrons that knewed the Iroquoits' tricks, I believe that our wild men had runned away, leaving their fuſiques behind. We being neere one another, we commanded that they ſhould row w^th^ all their ſtrength towards them. We kept cloſe one to another to perſecut what was our intent. We begin to make outcryes & ſing. The hurrons in one ſide, the Algonquins att the other ſide, y^e^ Ottanak, the panoeſtigons, the Amickkoick, the Nadonicenago, the ticacon, and we both encouraged them all, crying out w^th^ a loud noiſe. The Iroquoits begin to ſhoot, but we made ours to goe one forwards w^th^out any ſhooting, and y^t^ it was y^e^ onely way of fighting. They indeed turned their backs & we followed them awhile. Then was it y^t^ we weare called devils, w^th^ great thanks &

incouragements that they gave us, attributing to us the maſters of warre and the only Captaynes. We deſired them to keepe good watch and ſentry, and if we weare not ſurprized we ſhould come ſafe and ſound wthout hurt to the ffrench. The Iroquoite ſeeing us goe on our way, made as if they would leave us.

We made 3 carriages that day, where ye ennemy could doe us miſchief if they had ben there. The cunning knaves followed us nevertheleſſe pritty cloſe. We left 5 boats behind that weare not loaden. We did ſo to ſee what invention our enemy could invent, knowing very well that his mind was to ſurprize us. It is enough that we are warned that they follow us. Att laſt we perceived that he was before us, wch putt us in ſome feare; but ſeeing us reſolut, did what he could to augment his number. But we weare mighty vigilent & ſent ſome to make a diſcovery att every carriage through the woods. We weare told yt they weare in an ambuſh, & there builded a fort below the long Sault, where we weare to paſſe. Our wildmen ſaid doubtleſſe they have gott an other company of their nation, ſo that ſome minded to throw their caſtors away & returne home. We told them that we weare almoſt att the gates of the ffrench habitation, & bid [them] therefore have courage, & that our lives weare in as great danger as theirs, & if we weare taken we ſhould never eſcape becauſe they knewed us, & I becauſe I runned away from their country having ſlained ſome of their brethren, & my brother that long ſince was the man that furniſhed their enemy wth arms.

They att laſt weare perſuaded, & landed wthin a mile of the landing place, & ſent 300 men before armed. We made them great bucklers that the ſhot could not pearce in ſome places. They weare to be carryed if there had ben occaſion for it. Being come neere y^e torrent, we finding y^e Iroquoits lying in ambuſh, who began to ſhoot. The reſt of our company went about cutting of trees & making a fort, whilſt ſome brought the boats; w^ch being come, we left as few means poſſible might bee. The reſt helped to carry wood. We had about 200 men that weare gallant ſouldiers. Y^e moſt weare hurrons, Paſnoeſtigons, & Amickkoick frequented the ffrench for a time. The reſt weare ſkillfull in their bows & arrows. The Iroquoits perceiving our device, reſolved to fight by forceing them to lett us paſſe w^th our arms. They did not know beſt what to doe, being not ſo muniſhed nor ſo many men above a hundred and fifty. They forſooke the place & retired into the fort, w^ch was underneath y^e rapide. We in y^e meane while have ſlained 5 of theirs, & not one of ours hurted, w^ch encouraged our wildmen. We bid them ſtill to have good courage, that we ſhould have the victory. Wee went & made another fort neere theirs, where 2 of our men weare wounded but lightly.

It is a horrid thing to heare [of] the enormity of outcryes of thoſe different nations. The Iroquoits ſung like devils, & often made ſalleys to make us decline. They gott nothing by that but ſome arrows that did incommodat them to ſome purpoſe. We foreſee that ſuch a batail could not hold out long for want of powder, of ſhott & arrows; ſo by the conſent of my brother & y^e reſt, made a ſpeech in y^e Iroquoit language, indueing meſelfe w^th armours that I might not be wounded w^th every bullett or arrow that the ennemy ſent perpetually. Then I ſpoake. "Brethren, we came from yo^r yo^{r} country & bring you to ours, not to ſee you periſh unleſſe we periſh wth you. You know that the ffrench are men, & maks ſorts that cannot be taken ſo ſoone therefore cheare upp, ffor we love you & will die wth you." This being ended, nothing but howling & crying. We brought our caſtors & tyed them 8 by 8, and rowled them before us. The Iroquoits finding that they muſt come out of their fort to the watterſide, where they left their boats, to make uſe of them in caſe of neede, where indeed made an eſcape, leaving all their baggage behind, w^{ch} was not much, neither had we enough to fill our bellyes wth the meat that was left; there weare kettles, broaken gunns, & ruſty hattchetts.

They being gone, our paſſage was free, ſo we made haſt & endeavoured to come to our journey's end; and to make the more haſt, ſome boats went downe that ſwift ſtreame without making any carriage, hopeing to follow the ennemy; but the bad lacke was that where my brother was y^{e} boat turned in the torrent, being ſeaven of them together, weare in great danger, ffor God was mercifull to give them ſtrength to ſave themſelves, to the great admiration, for few can ſpeed ſo well in ſuch precipices. When they came to lande they cutt rocks. My brother loſt his booke of annotations of y^{e} laſt yeare of our being in theſe foraigne nations. We loſt never a caſtor, but may be ſome better thing. It 's better [that one] looſe all then loſe his life.

We weare 4 moneths in our voyage wthout doeing any thing but goe from river to river. We mett ſeverall ſorts of people. We converſed wth them, being long time in alliance wth them. By the perſuaſion of ſom of them we went into y^{e} great river that divides itſelfe in 2, where the hurrons wth

ſome Ottanake & the wild men that had warrs w^th^ them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have warrs againſt thoſe of [the] forked river. It is ſo called becauſe it has 2 branches, the one towards the weſt, the other towards the South, w^ch^ we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us. Being among theſe people, they told us the priſoners they take tells them that they have warrs againſt a nation, againſt men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had ſuch knives as we have had. Moreover they ſhewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, w^ch^ made us believe they weare Europeans. They ſhewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We underſtood him not; he was much more tawny then they w^th^ whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outſide; that was the puniſhment inflicted uppon him. So they doe w^th^ them that they take, & kill them w^th^ clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their priſoners as thoſe of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river. Theſe weare men of extraordinary height & biggneſſe, that made us believe they had no communication w^th^ them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles,[61] w^ch^ are mighty bigg. They have fiſh in plenty throughout y^e^ yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak, w^ch^ grows on vaſt trees w^ch^ in compaſſe are three armefull in compaſſe. When they ſee litle men they are affraid & cry out, w^ch^ makes many come help them. Their arrows are not of ſtones as ours are, but of fiſh boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their diſhes are made of wood. I having ſeene them, could not but admire the curioſity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great ſtones, red & greene. They make a ſtore of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not ſeene, therefore you may believe as you pleaſe.

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[61] *Citrulles*, pumpkins.

When I came backe I found my brother ſick, as I ſaid before. God gave him his health, more by his courage then by any good medicine, ffor our bodyes are not like thoſe of the wildmen. To our purpoſe; we came backe to our carriage, whilſt wee endeavoured to ayde our compagnions in their extremity. The Iroquoits gott a great way before, not well ſatisfied to have ſtayed for us, having loſt 7 of their men; 2 of them weare not nimble enough, ffor our bulletts & arrows made them ſtay for good & all. Seaven of our men weare ſick, they have ben like to be drowned, & the other two weare wounded by y^e Iroquoits.

The next day we went on w^{th}out any delay or encounter. I give you leave if thoſe of mont Royall weare not overjoyed to ſee us arrived where they affirme us the pitifull conditions that the country was by the cruelty of theſe cruell barbars, that perpetually killed & ſlaughtered to y^e very gate of the ffrench fort. All this hindered not our goeing to the ffrench att y^e 3 rivers after we refreſhed ourſelves 3 dayes, but like to pay dearly for our bold attempt. 20 inhabitants came downe w^{th} us in a ſhawlopp. As we doubled the point of the river of the meddows we weare ſett uppon by ſeverall of y^e Iroquoits, but durſt not come neare us, becauſe of two ſmall braſſe pieces y^t the ſhalop carryed. We tyed our boats together & made a fort about us of caſtors' ſkins, w^{ch} kept us from all danger. We went downe the ſtreame in that poſture. The ennemy left us, & did well; for our wildmen weare diſpoſed to fight, & our ſhaloupp could not come neare them becauſe for want of watter. We came to Quebecq, where we are ſaluted wth the thundring of the guns & batteryes of the fort, and of the 3 ſhipps that weare then att anchor, w^{ch} had gon back to france wthout caſtors if we had not come. We weare well traited for 5 dayes. The Governor made guifts & ſent 2 Brigantins to bring us to the 3 rivers, where we arrived the 2nd day of, & the 4th day they went away.

That is the end of our 3 years' voyage & few months. After ſo much paine & danger God was ſo mercifull [as] to bring us back ſaf to our dwelling, where the one was made much off by his wife, the other by his friends & kindred. The ennemy that had diſcovered us in our goeing downe gott more company, wth as many as they could to come to the paſſages, & there to waite for y^e retourne of thoſe people, knowinge well that they could not ſtay there long becauſe the ſeaſon of the yeare was almoſt ſpent; but we made them by our perſuaſions goe downe to Quebecq, w^{ch} proved well, ffor the Iroquoits thought they weare gone another way. So came y^e next day after our arrivall to make a diſcovery to the 3 rivers, where being perceived, there is care taken to receive them.

The ffrench cannot goe as the wildmen through the woods, but imbarks themſelves in ſmall boats & went along the river ſide, knowing that if y^e ennemy was repulſed, he would make his retreat to the river ſide. Some Algonquins weare then att the habitation, who for to ſhew their vallour diſpoſed themſelves to be the firſt in the pourſuit of y^e enemy. Some of the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt ffrench kept them company, w^{th} an other great number of men called Ottanacks, ſo y^t we weare ſoone together by the ears. There weare ſome 300 men of y^e enemy that came in the ſpace of a fourteen night together; but when they ſaw us they made uſe of their heels. We weare about 500; but y^e better to play their game, after they runned half a mile in y^e wood they turned againe, where then the batail began moſt furiouſly by ſhooting att one another.

That uppermoſt nation, being not uſed to ſhooting nor heare ſuch noiſe, began to ſhake off their armours, and tooke their bows and arrows, w^{ch} indeed made [more] execution then all the guns that they had brought. So ſeeing 50 Algonquins & 15 ffrench keep to it, they reſolved to ſtick to it alſo, w^{ch} had not long laſted; ffor ſeeing that their arrows weare almoſt ſpent & they muſt cloſe together, and y^t y^e enemy had an advantage by keeping themſelves behind the trees, and we to fall uppon we muſt be w^{th}out bucklers, w^{ch} diminiſhed much our company that was foremoſt, we gave them in ſpight us place to retire themſelves, w^{ch} they did w^{th} all ſpeed. Having come to the watter ſide, where their boats weare, ſaw the ffrench all in a row, who layd in an ambuſh to receive them, w^{ch} they had done if God had not ben for us; ffor they, thinking y^t the enemy was att hand, miſtruſted nothing to y^e contrary. The ffrench that weare in the wood, ſeeing the evident danger where their countrymen layd, encouraged the Ottanaks, who tooke their armes againe and followed the enemy, who not feared y^t way arrived before the ffrench weare apprehended, by good looke.

One of the Iroquoits, thinking his boat would be ſeene, goes quickly and putts it out of ſight, & diſcovers himſelfe, w^ch^ warned the ffrench to hinder them to goe further uppon that ſcore. Our wildmen made a ſtand and fell uppon them ſtoutly. The combat begins a new; they ſee the ffrench that weare uppon the watter come neere, w^ch^ renforced them to take their boats w^th^ all haſt, and leave their booty behind. The few boats that the french had brought made that could enter but the 60 ffrench, who weare enough. The wildmen neverthleleſſe did not goe w^th^out their prey, w^ch^ was of three men's heads that they killed att the firſt fight; but they left Eleven of theirs in the place, beſides many more that weare wounded. They went ſtraight to their countrey, w^ch^ did a great ſervice to the retourne of our wildmen, and mett w^th^ non all their journey, as we heard afterwards.

They went away y^e^ next day, and we ſtayed att home att reſt y^t^ yeare. My brother and I conſidered whether we ſhould diſcover what we have ſeene or no; and becauſe we had not a full and whole diſcovery, w^ch^ was that we have not ben in the bay of the north, not knowing anything but by report of y^e^ wild Chriſtinos, we would make no mention of it for feare that thoſe wild men ſhould tell us a fibbe. We would have made a diſcovery of it ourſelves and have an aſſurance, before we ſhould diſcover anything of it.

The ende of the Auxotacicac voyage,
w^ch^ is the third voyage.

[*Fourth*

[*Fourth Voyage of Peter Eſprit Radiſſon.*]

The ſpring following we weare in hopes to meet wth ſome company, having ben ſo fortunat the yeare before. Now during the winter, whether it was that my brother revealed to his wife what we had ſeene in our voyage and what we further intended, or how it came to paſſe, it was knowne; ſo much that the ffather Jeſuits weare deſirous to find out a way how they might gett downe the caſtors from the bay of ye north by the Sacgnes, and ſo make themſelves maſters of that trade. They reſolved to make a tryall as ſoone as the ice would permitt them. So to diſcover our intentions they weare very earneſt wth me to ingage myſelfe in that voyage, to ye end that my brother would give over his, wch I uterly denied them, knowing that they could never bring it about, becauſe I heard ye wild men ſay that although the way be eaſy, the wildmen that are feed att their doors would have hindred them, becauſe they make a livelyhood of that trade.

In my laſt voyage I tooke notice of yt yt goes to three lands, wch is firſt from the people of the north to another nation, that ye ffrench call Squerells, and another nation yt they call porquepicque, and from them to ye Montignes & Algonquins that live in or about Quebucque; but the greateſt hinderance is the ſcant of watter and ye horrid torrents and want of victuals, being no way to carry more then can ſerve 14 dayes' or 3 weeks' navigation on that river. Neverthleleſſe ye ffathers are gone wth the Governor's ſon of the three rivers and 6 other ffrench and 12 wildmen.

During that time we made our propoſition to the governor of Quebuc that we weare willing to venture our lives for the good of y^{e} countrey, and goe to travell to the remoteſt countreys wth 2 hurrons that made their eſcape from the Iroquoits. They wiſhed nothing more then to bee in thoſe parts where their wives and families weare, about the Lake of y^{e} ſtairing haire; to that intent would ſtay untill auguſt to ſee if any body would come from thence. My brother and I weare of one minde; and for more aſſurance my brother went to Mont royall to bring thoſe two men along. He came backe, being in danger. The Governor gives him leave, conditionaly that he muſt carry two of his ſervants along wth him and give them y^{e} moitié of y^{e} profit. My brother was vexed att ſuch an unreaſonable a demand, to take inexperted men to their ruine. All our knowledge and deſir depended onely of this laſt voyage, beſides that the governor ſhould compare 2 of his ſervants to us, that have ventured our lives ſo many years and maintained the countrey wth our generoſity in y^{e} preſence of all; neither was there one that had the courage to undertake what wee have done. We made the governor a ſlight anſwer, and tould him for our part we knewed what we weare, Diſcoverers before governors. If the wild men came downe, the way for them as for us, and that we ſhould be glad to have the honnour of his company, but not of that of his ſervants, and that we weare both maſters and ſervants. The Governor was much diſpleaſed att this, & commanded us not to go wthout his leave. We deſired the ffathers to ſpeake to him about it. Our addreſſes were ſlight becauſe of the ſhame was putt uppon them the yeare before of their retourne, beſids, they ſtayed for an opportunity to goe there themſelves; ffor their deſigne is to further the Chriſtian faith to the greateſt glory of God, and indeed are charitable to all thoſe that are in diſtreſſe and needy, eſpecially to thoſe that are worthy or induſtrious in their way of honeſty. This is the truth, lett who he will ſpeak otherwiſe, ffor this realy I know meſelfe by experience. I hope I offend non to tell y^e truth. We are forced to goe back wthout doeing any thing.

The month of Auguſt that brings a company of the Sault, who weare come by the river of the three rivers wth incredible paines, as they ſaid. It was a company of ſeaven boats. We wrote the news of their arrivement to Quebuc. They ſend us word that they will ſtay untill the 2 fathers be turned from Sacquenes, y^t we ſhould goe wth them. An anſwer wth-out reaſon. Neceſſity obliged us to goe. Thoſe people are not to be inticed, ffor as ſoone as they have done their affaire they goe. The governor of that place defends us to goe. We tould him that the offenſe was pardonable becauſe it was every one's intereſt; nevertheleſſe we knewed what we weare to doe, and that he ſhould not be blamed for us. We made guifts to the wildmen, that wiſhed with all their hearts that we might goe along wth them. We told them that y^e governor minded to ſend ſervants wth them, and forbids us to goe along wth y^m. The wild men would not accept of their company, but tould us that they would ſtay for us two dayes in the Lake of S^t Peter in the graſſe ſome 6 leagues from y^e 3 rivers; but we did not lett them ſtay ſo long, for that very night, my brother having the keys of the Brough as being Captayne of the place, we embarqued ourſelves.

We made ready in the morning, ſo that we went, 3 of us, about midnight. Being come oppoſit to the fort, they aſke who is there. My brother tells his name. Every one knows what good ſervices we had done to the countrey, and loved us, y^e inhabitants as well as the ſouldiers. The ſentrey anſwers him, "God give you a good voyage." We went on the reſt of that night. Att 6 in the morning we are arrived to the appointed place, but found no body. We weare well armed, & had a good boat. We reſolved to goe day and night to the river of the meddows to overtake them. The wildmen did feare that it was ſomewhat elſe, but 3 leagues beyond that of the fort of Richlieu we ſaw them coming to us. We putt ourſelves uppon our guards, thinking they weare ennemy; but weare friends, and received us w^{th} joy, and ſaid that if we had not come in 3 dayes' time, they would have ſent their boats to know the reaſon of our delay. There we are in that river waiting for the night. Being come to the river of the medows, we did ſeparat ourſelves, 3 into 3 boats. The man that we have taken w^{th} us was putt into a boat of 3 men and a woman, but not of the ſame nation as y^e reſt, but of one that we call ſorcerors. They weare going downe to ſee ſome friends that lived w^{th} the nation of the fire, that now liveth w^{th} the Ponoeſtigonce or the Sault. It is to be underſtood that this river is divided much into ſtreams very ſwift & ſmall before you goe to the river of Canada; [on account] of the great game that there is in it, the ennemy is to be feared, w^{ch} made us go through theſe torrents. This could make any one afraid who is inexperted in ſuch voyages.

We ſuffered much for 3 dayes and 3 nights w^{th}out reſt. As we went we heard the noiſe of guns, w^{ch} made us believe firmly they weare ennemyes. We ſaw 5 boats goe by, and heard others, w^{ch} daunted our hearts for feare, although wee had 8 boats in number; but weare a great diſtance one from another, as is ſaid in my former voyage, before we could gaine the height of y^{e} river. The boat of the ſorcerors where was one of us, albeit made a voyage into the hurrons' country before wth the ffathers, it was not uſefull, ſoe we made him embark another, but ſtayed not there long. The night following, he that was in the boat dreamed that the Iroquoits had taken him wth the reſt. In his dreame he cryes out aloud; thoſe y^{t} weare att reſt awakes of y^{e} noiſe. We are in alarum, and ready to be gone. Thoſe that weare wth y^{e} man reſolved to goe back againe, explicating that an evill preſage. The wildmen councelled to ſend back the ffrenchman, ſaying he ſhould die before he could come to their countrey. It 's uſually ſpoken among y^{e} wildmen when a man is ſick or not able to doe anything to diſcourage him in ſuch ſayings.

Here I will give a relation of that ffrenchman before I goe farther, and what a thing it is to have an intrigue. The next day they ſee a boat of their ennemys, as we heard ſince. They preſently landed. Y^{e} wild men runned away; the ffrenchman alſoe, as he went along the watter ſide for fear of looſing himſelfe. He finds there an harbour very thick, layes himſelfe downe and falls aſleepe. The night being come, y^{e} wildmen being come to know whether the enemy had perceived them, but non purſued them, and found their boat in the ſame place, and imbarques themſelves and comes in good time to mount royall. They left the poore ffrenchman there, thinking he had wit enough to come along the watter ſide, being not above tenne leagues from thence. Thoſe wild men, after their arrivement, for feare ſpoak not one word of him, but went downe to the 3 rivers, where their habitation was. Fourteen days after ſome boats ventured to goe looke for ſome Oriniaks, came to the ſame place, where they made cottages, and that w^th^in a quarter of mille where this wrech was. One of the ffrench finds him on his back and almoſt quite ſpent; had his gunne by him. He was very weake, and deſirous that he ſhould be diſcovered by ſome or other. He fed as long as he could on grappes, and at laſt became ſo weake that he was not able any further, untill thoſe ffrench found him. After awhile, being come to himſelfe, he tends downe the three rivers, where being arrived the governor empriſons him. He ſtayed not there long. The inhabitants ſeeing that the ennemy, the hunger, and all other miſeries tormented this poore man, and that it was by a divine providence he was alive, they would not have ſouffred ſuch inhumanity, but gott him out.

Three dayes after wee found the tracks of ſeaven boats, and fire yett burning. We found out by their characters they weare no ennemys, but imagined that they weare Octanaks that went up into their countrey, w^{ch} made us make haſt to overtake them. We tooke no reſt till we overtooke them. They came from Mount royall and weare gone to the great river and gone by the great river. So that we weare now 14 boats together, w^{ch} weare to goe the ſame way to the height of the upper lake.

The day following wee weare ſett uppon by a Company of Iroquoits that fortified themſelves in the paſſage, where they waited of Octanack, for they knewed of their going downe.

Our wildmen, ſeeing that there was no way to avoid them, reſolved to be together, being the beſt way for them to make a quick Expedition, ffor the ſeaſon of the yeare preſſed us to premake expedition. We reſolved to give a combat. We prepared ourſelves wth targetts. Now y^{e} buſineſſe was to make a diſcovery. I doubt not but the ennemy was much ſurpriſed to ſee us ſo in number. The councell was held and reſolution taken. I and a wildman weare appointed to goe and ſee their fort. I offered myſelfe wth a free will, to lett them ſee how willing I was to defend them; that is the onely way to gaine the hearts of thoſe wildmen. We ſaw that their fort was environed wth great rocks that there was no way to mine it, becauſe there weare no trees neere it. The mine was nothing elſe but to cutt y^{e} neareſt tree, and ſo by his fall make a bracke, and ſo goe and give an aſſault. Their fort was nothing but trees one againſt another in a round or ſquare wthout ſides.

The ennemy ſeeing us come neere, ſhott att us, but in vaine, ffor we have fforewarned ourſelves before we came there. It was a pleaſur to ſee our wildmen wth their guns and arrows, w^{ch} agreed not together. Nevertheleſſe we told them when they received a breake their guns would be to no purpoſe; therefore to putt them by and make uſe of their bows and arrows. The Iroquoits ſaw themſelves putt to it, and the evident danger that they weare in, but to late except they would runne away. Yett our wildmen weare better wild footemen then they. Theſe weare ffrenchmen that ſhould give them good dirrections to overthrow them, reſolved to ſpeake for peace, and throw necklaces of porcelaine over the ſtakes of their fort. Our wildmen weare dazelled att ſuch guifts, becauſe that ye porcelaine is very rare and coſtly in their countrey, and then ſeeing themſelves flattered wth faire words, to wch they gave eare. We truſt them by force to putt their firſt deſigne in Execution, but feared their lives and loved the porcelaine, ſeeing they had it wthout danger of any life. They weare perſuaded to ſtay till ye next day, becauſe now it was almoſt night. The Iroquoits make their eſcape. This occaſion loſt, our conſolation was that we had that paſſage free, but vexed for having loſt that opportunity, & contrarywiſe weare contented of our ſide, for doubtleſſe ſome of us had ben killed in the bataill.

The day following we embarqued ourſelves quietly, being uppon our guard for feare of any ſurprize, ffor that ennemy's danger ſcarcely begane, who wth his furour made himſelfe ſo redoubted, having ben there up and downe to make a new ſlaughter. This morning, in aſſurance enough; in the afternoone the two boats that had orders to land ſome 200 paces from the landing place, one tooke onely a ſmall bundle very light, tends to the other ſide of the carriage, imagining there to make the kettle boyle, having killed 2 ſtaggs two houres agoe, and was ſcarce halfe way when he meets ye Iroquoits, wthout doubt for that ſame buſineſſe. I think both weare much ſurprized. The Iroquoits had a bundle of Caſtor that he left behind wthout much adoe. Our wild men did the ſame; they both runne away to their partners to give them notice. By chance my brother meets them in ye way. The wild men ſeeing that they all weare frightned and out of breath, they aſked the matter, and was told, *nadonnée*, and ſo ſoone ſaid, he letts fall his bundle that he had uppon his back into a buſh, and comes backe where he finds all the wildmen diſpaired. He deſired me to encourage them, w^{ch} I performed wth all earneſtneſſe. We runned to the height of y^{e} carriage. As we weare agoing they tooke their armes wth all ſpeed. In the way we found the bundle of caſtors that the ennemy had left. By this means we found out that they weare in a fright as wee, and that they came from the warrs of the upper country, w^{ch} we told the wildmen, ſo encouraged them to gaine the watter ſide to diſcover their forces, where wee no ſooner came but 2 boats weare landed & charged their guns, either to defend themſelves or to ſett uppon us. We prevented this affair by our diligence, and ſhott att them wth our bows & arrows, as wth our gunns.

They finding ſuch an aſſault immediately forſooke the place. They would have gone into their boats, but we gave them not ſo much time. They threwed themſelves into the river to gaine the other ſide. This river was very narrow, ſo that it was very violent. We had killed and taken them all, if 2 boats of theirs had not come to their ſuccour, w^{ch} made us gave over to follow them, & looke to ourſelves, ffor we knewed not the number of their men. Three of their men neverthleſſe weare killed; the reſt is on the other ſide of the river, where there was a fort w^{ch} was made long before. There they retired themſelves wth all ſpeed. We paſſe our boats to augment our victory, ſeeing that they weare many in number. They did what they could to hinder our paſſage, butt all in vaine, ffor we made uſe of the bundle of Caſtors that they left, w^{ch} weare to us inſtead of Gabbions, for we putt them att the heads of our boats, and by that means gott ground in ſpight of their noſes. They killed one of our men as we landed. Their number was not to reſiſt ours. They retired themſelves into the fort and brought the reſt of their [men] in hopes to ſave it. In this they were far miſtaken, for we furiouſly gave an aſſault, not ſparing time to make us bucklers, and made uſe of nothing elſe but of caſtors tyed together. So wthout any more adoe we gathered together. The Iroquoits ſpared not their powder, but made more noiſe then hurt. The darkneſſe covered the earth, wch was ſomewhat favorable for us; but to overcome them the ſooner, we filled a barill full of gun powder, and having ſtoped the whole of it well and tyed it to the end of a long pole, being att the foote of the fort. Heere we loſt 3 of our men; our machine did play wth an execution. I may well ſay that ye ennemy never had ſeen ye like. Moreover I tooke 3 or 4 pounds of powder; this I put into a rind of a tree, then a fuſy to have the time to throw the rind, warning the wildmen as ſoone as ye rind made his execution that they ſhould enter in and breake the fort upſide down, wth the hattchett and the ſword in their hands.

In the meane time the Iroquoits did ſing, expecting death, or to their heels, att the noiſe of ſuch a ſmoake & noiſe that our machines made, wth the ſlaughter of many of them. Seeing themſelves ſoe betrayed, they lett us goe free into their fort, that thereby they might ſave themſelves; but having environed the fort, we are mingled pell mell, ſo that we could not know one another in that ſkirmiſh of blowes. There was ſuch an noiſe that ſhould terrifie the ſtouteſt men. Now there falls a ſhowre of raine and a terrible ſtorme, that to my thinking there was ſomthing extraordinary, that the Devill himſelfe made that ſtorme to give thoſe men leave to eſcape from our hands, to deſtroy another time more of theſe innocents. In that darkneſſe every one looked about for ſhelter, not thinking of thoſe braves, that layd downe halfe dead, to purſue them. It was a thing impoſſible, yett doe believe that the ennemy was not far. As the ſtorme was over, we came together, making a noiſe, and I am perſuaded that many thought themſelves priſoners that weare att Liberty. Some ſang their fatall ſong, albeit wthout any wounds. So that thoſe that had the confidence to come neare the others weare comforted by aſſuring them the victory, and y^t the ennemy was routed. We preſently make a great fire, and wth all haſt make upp the fort againe for feare of any ſurprize. We ſearched for thoſe that weare miſſing. Thoſe that weare dead and wounded weare viſited. We found 11 of our ennemy ſlain'd and 2 onely of ours, beſides ſeaven weare wounded, who in a ſhort time paſſed all danger of life. While ſome weare buſie in tying 5 of the ennemy that could not eſcape, the others viſited the wounds of their compagnions, who for to ſhew their courage ſung'd lowder then thoſe that weare well. The ſleepe that we tooke that night did not make our heads guidy, although we had need of repoſeing. Many liked the occupation, for they filled their bellyes wth the fleſh of their ennemyes. We broiled ſome of it and kettles full of the reſt. We bourned our comrades, being their cuſtome to reduce ſuch into aſhes being ſlained in bataill. It is an honnour to give them ſuch a buriall.

Att the brake of day we cooked what could accommodate us, and flung the reſt away. The greateſt marke of our victory was that we had 10 heads & foure priſoners, whom we embarqued in hopes to bring them into our countrey, and there to burne them att our owne leaſures for the more ſatiſfaction of our wives. We left that place of maſacre wth horrid cryes. Forgetting the death of our parents, we plagued thoſe infortunate. We plucked out their nailes one after another. The next morning, after we ſlept a litle in our boats, we made a ſigne to begone. They prayed to lett off my peece, w^{ch} made greate noiſe. To fullfill their deſire, I lett it of. I noe ſooner ſhott, butt perceived ſeaven boats of the Iroquoits going from a point towards the land. We were ſurpriſed of ſuch an incounter, ſeeing death before us, being not ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſuch a company, ffor there weare 10 or 12 in every boat. They perceiving us thought y^{t} we weare more in number, began in all haſt to make a fort, as we received from two diſcoverers that wee ſent to know their poſtures. It was wth much adoe that thoſe two went. Dureing we perſwaded our wildmen to ſend ſeaven of our boats to an iſle neare hand, and turne often againe to frighten our adverſaryes by our ſhew of our forces. They had a minde to fortifie themſelves in that iſland, but we would not ſuffer it, becauſe there was time enough in caſe of neceſſity, w^{ch} we repreſent unto them, making them to gather together all the broaken trees to make them a kind of barricado, prohibiting them to cutt trees, that thereby the ennemy might not ſuſpect our feare & our ſmall number, w^{ch} they had knowne by the ſtroaks of their hattchetts. Thoſe wildmen, thinking to be loſt, obeyed us in every thing, telling us every foot, "Be chearfull, and diſpoſe of us as you will, for we are men loſt." We killed our foure priſoners becauſe they embaraſſed us. They ſent, as ſoone as we weare together, ſome fourty, that perpetually went to and againe to find out our pollicy and weakneſſe.

In the meane time we told the people that they weare men, & if they muſt, die alltogether, and for us to make a fort in the lande was to deſtroy ourſelves, becauſe we ſhould put ourſelves in priſon; to take courage, if in caſe we ſhould be forced to take a retreat the Iſle was a fort for us, from whence we might well eſcape in the night. That we weare ſtrangers and they, if I muſt ſay ſo, in their countrey, & ſhooting ourſelves in a fort all paſſages would be open uppon us for to ſave ourſelves through the woods, was a miſerable comfort. In the mean time the Iroquoits worked luſtily, think att every ſtep we weare to give them an aſſault, but farr deceived, ffor if ever blind wiſhed the Light, we wiſhed them the obſcurity of the night, w^{ch} no ſooner approached but we embarqued ourſelves wthout any noiſe, and went along. It 's ſtrang to me that y^{e} ennemy did not encounter us. Without queſtion he had ſtore of priſoners and booty. We left the Iroquoits in his fort and the feare in our breeches, for wthout apprehenſion we rowed from friday to tueſday wthout intermiſſion. We had ſcarce to eat a bitt of ſault meat. It was pitty to ſee our feete & leggs in blood by drawing our boats through the ſwift ſtreames, where the rocks have ſuch ſharp points that there is nothing but death could make men doe what we did. On the third day the paines & labour we tooke forced us to an intermiſſion, ffor we weare quite ſpent. After this we went on wthout any encounter whatſoever, having eſcaped very narrowly. We paſſed a ſault that falls from a vaſt height. Some of our wildmen went underneath it, w^{ch} I have ſeene, & I myſelfe had the curioſity, but that quiver makes a man the ſurer. The watter runs over the heads w^th^ ſuch impetuoſity & violence that it 's incredible. Wee went under this torrent a quarter of a mille, that falls from the toppe above fourty foot downwards.

Having come to the lake of the Caſtors, we went about the lake of the caſtors for ſome victuals, being in great want, and ſuffered much hunger. So every one conſtituts himſelfe; ſome went a hunting, ſome a fiſhing. This done, we went downe the river of the ſorcerers, w^ch^ brought us to the firſt great lake. What joy had we to ſee ourſelves out of that river ſo dangerous, after we wrought two and twenty dayes and as many nights, having not ſlept one houre on land all that while. Now being out of danger, as ſafe from our enemy, perhaps we muſt enter into another, w^ch^ perhaps may give practice & trouble conſequently. Our equipage and we weare ready to wander uppon that ſweet ſea; but moſt of that coaſt is void of wild beaſts, ſo there was great famine amongſt us for want. Yett the coaſt afforded us ſome ſmall fruits. There I found the kindneſſe & charity of the wildmen, ffor when they found any place of any quantity of it they called me and my brother to eat & repleniſh our bellys, ſhewing themſelves far gratfuller then many Chriſtians even to their owne relations.

I cannot forgett here the ſubtilty of one of theſe wildmen that was in the ſame boat w^th^ me. We ſee a caſtor along the watter ſide, that puts his head out of the watter. That wildman no ſooner ſaw him but throwes himſelf out into the watter and downe to the bottom, w^th^out ſo much time as to give notice to any, and before many knewed of anything, he brings up the caſtor in his armes as a child, wth[out] fearing to be bitten. By this we ſee that hunger can doe much.

Afterwardes we entered into a ſtraight w^{ch} had 10 leagues in length, full of iſlands, where we wanted not fiſh. We came after to a rapid that makes the ſeparation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calle Superior, or upper, for that y^{e} wildmen hold it to be longer & broader, beſids a great many iſlands, w^{ch} maks appeare in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling of thoſe wth whome wee weare, and conſequently we muſt not aſke them if they knew where they have layed. Wee made cottages att our advantages, and found the truth of what thoſe men had often [ſaid], that if once we could come to that place we ſhould make good cheare of a fiſh that they call *Aſſickmack*, w^{ch} ſignifieth a white fiſh. The beare, the caſtors, and y^{e} Oriniack ſhewed themſelves often, but to their coſt; indeed it was to us like a terreſtriall paradiſe. After ſo long faſtning, after ſo great paines y^{t} we had taken, finde ourſelves ſo well by choſſing our dyet, and reſting when we had a minde to it, 't is here that we muſt taſt wth pleaſur a ſweet bitt. We doe not aſke for a good ſauce; it 's better to have it naturally; it is y^{e} way to diſtinguiſh y^{e} ſweet from the bitter.

But the ſeaſon was far ſpent, and uſe diligence and leave that place ſo wiſhed, w^{ch} wee ſhall bewaile, to the courſed Iroquoits. What hath that poore nation done to thee, and being ſo far from thy country? Yett if they had the ſame liberty that in former dayes they have had, we poore ffrench ſhould not goe further wth our heads except we had a ſtrong army. Thoſe great lakes had not ſo ſoone comed to our knowledge if it had not ben for thoſe brutiſh people; two men had not found out y^{e} truth of theſe ſeas ſo cheape; the intereſt and the glorie could not doe what terror doth att y^{e} end. We are a litle better come to ourſelves and furniſhed. We left that inn wthout reckoning wth our hoſt. It is cheape when wee are not to put the hand to the purſe; nevertheleſſe we muſt pay out of civility: the one gives thanks to the woods, the other to the river, the third to the earth, the other to the rocks that ſtayes the ffiſh; in a word, there is nothing but *kinekoiur* of all ſorts; the encens of our Encens (?) is not ſpared. The weather was agreable when we began to navigat upon that great extent of watter, finding it ſo calme and the aire ſo cleare. We thwarted in a pretty broad place, came to an iſle moſt delightfull for the diverſity of its fruits. We called it the iſle of the foure beggars. We arrived about 5 of the clocke in the afternone that we came there. We ſudainly put the kettle to y^{e} fire. We reſide there a while, and ſeeing all this while the faire weather and calme. We went from thence att tenne of the clocke y^{e} ſame night to gaine the firme lande, w^{ch} was 6 leagues from us, where we arrived before day. Here we found a ſmall river. I was ſo curious that I inquired my deareſt friends the name of this ſtreame. They named me it *pauabickkomeſibs*, w^{ch} ſignifieth a ſmall river of copper. I aſked him the reaſon. He told me, "Come, and I ſhall ſhew thee y^{e} reaſon why." I was in a place w^{ch} was not 200 paces in y^{e} wood, where many peeces of copper weare uncovered. Further he told me that the mountaine I ſaw was of nothing elſe. Seeing it ſo faire & pure, I had a minde to take a peece of it, but they hindred me, telling my brother there was more where we weare to goe. In this great Lake of myne owne eyes have ſeene w^{ch} are admirable, and cane maintaine of a hundred pounds teem will not be decayed.[62]

From this place we went along the coaſts, w^{ch} are moſt delightfull and wounderous, for it's nature that made it ſo pleaſant to the eye, the ſperit, and the belly. As we went along we ſaw banckes of ſand ſo high that one of our wildmen went upp for curioſitie; being there, did ſhew no more then a crow. That place is moſt dangerous when that there is any ſtorme, being no landing place ſo long as the ſandy bancks are under watter; and when the wind blowes, that ſand doth riſe by a ſtrang kind of whirling that are able to choake the paſſengers. One day you will ſee 50 ſmall mountaines att one ſide, and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other ſide. This putts me in mind of the great and vaſt wilderneſſes of Turkey land, as the Turques makes their pylgrimages.

Some dayes after we obſerved that there weare ſome boats before us, but knewed not certainely what they weare. We made all the haſt to overtake them, fearing the ennemy no more. Indeed the faſter we could goe the better for us, becauſe of the ſeaſon of the yeare, that began to be cold & freeze. They weare a nation that lived in a land towards the South. This nation is very ſmall, being not 100 in all, men & women together. As we came neerer them they weare ſurprized of our ſafe retourne, and aſtonied to ſee us, admiring the rich marchandiſes that their confederates brought from the ffrench, that weare hattchetts and knives and other utenſils very commodious, rare, precious, and neceſſary in thoſe countreys. They told the news one to another whilſt we made good cheere and great fires. They mourned for y^e death of [one] of their comrades; the heads of their ennemy weare danced. Some dayes [after] we ſeparated ourſelves, and preſented guiftes to thoſe that weare going an other way, for w^{ch} we received great ſtore of meate, w^{ch} was putt up in barrills, and greaſe of bears & Oriniacke.

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[62] "Of a hundred pounds teem." This ſentence ſeems ſomewhat obſcure. The writer perhaps meant to ſay that he had ſeen maſſes of copper of not leſs than a hundred pounds weight.

After this we came to a remarquable place. It's a banke of Rocks that the wild men made a ſacrifice to; they calls it *Nanitouckſinagoit*, w^{ch} ſignifies the likeneſſe of the devill. They fling much tobacco and other things in its veneration. It is a thing moſt incredible that that lake ſhould be ſo boiſterous, that the waves of it ſhould have the ſtrength to doe what I have to ſay by this my diſcours: firſt, that it's ſo high and ſoe deepe y^t it's impoſſible to claime up to the point. There comes many ſorte of birds y^t makes there neſt here, the goilants, w^{ch} is a white ſea-bird of the bigneſſe of pigeon, w^{ch} makes me believe what y^e wildmen told me concerning the ſea to be neare directly to y^e point. It's like a great Portall, by reaſon of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that oppening is as bigg as a tower, and grows bigger in the going up. There is, I believe, 6 acres of land. Above it a ſhipp of 500 tuns could paſſe by, ſoe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of S^t Peter, becauſe my name is ſo called, and that I was the firſt Chriſtian[88] that ever ſaw it. There is in that place caves very deepe, cauſed by the ſame violence. We muſt looke to ourſelves, and take time wth our ſmall boats. The coaſt of rocks is 5 or 6 leagues, and there ſcarce a place to putt a boat in aſſurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves goeth in theſe concavities wth force and make a moſt horrible noiſe, moſt like the ſhooting of great guns.

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[88] "The firſt Chriſtian that ever ſaw it." French Jeſuits and fur-traders puſhed deeper and deeper into the wilderneſs of the northern lakes. In 1641

Some dayes afterwards we arrived to a very beautifull point of ſand where there are 3 beautifull iſlands,[54] that we called of y^{e} Trinity; there be 3 in triangle. From this place we diſcovered a bay very deepe, where a river empties its ſelfe wth a noiſe for the quantitie & dept of y^{e} water. We muſt ſtay there 3 dayes to wait for faire weather to make the Trainage, w^{ch} was about 6 leagues wide. Soe done, we came to the mouth of a ſmall river, where we killed ſome Orinicks. We found meddows that weare ſquared, and 10 leagues as ſmooth as a boord. We went up ſome 5 leagues further, where we found ſome pools made by the caſtors. We muſt breake

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Jacques and Raynbault preached the Faith to a concourſe of Indians at the outlet of Lake Superior. Then came the havoc and deſolation of the Iroquois war, and for years further exploration was arreſted. At length, in 1658, two daring traders penetrated to Lake Superior, wintered there, and brought back the tales they had heard of the ferocious Sioux, and of a great weſtern river on which they dwelt. Two years later the aged Jeſuit Méſnard attempted to plant a miſſion on the ſouthern ſhore of the lake, but periſhed in the foreſt by famine or the tomahawk. Allouez ſucceeded him, explored a part of Lake Superior, and heard in his turn of the Sioux and their great river, the "Meſſipi." — Introduction to Parkman's *Diſcovery of the Great Weſt.* There can be no doubt but that the "two daring traders who in 1658 penetrated to Lake Superior," and dwelt on the great river, were Radiſſon and Des Groſeilliers, who repeated their journey a few years after, deſcribed in this narrative. The "Pictured Rocks" and the "Doric Rock" were ſo named in Governor Caſs's and Schoolcraft's *Travels* in 1820.

[54] "Three beautiful iſlands." In Caſs's and Schoolcraft's *Travels* (1820) through the chain of American lakes theſe iſlands are called Huron Iſlands, and the bay beyond is marked on their map "Keweena Bay."

breake them that we might paſſe. The ſluce being broaken, what a wounderfull thing to ſee the induſtrie of that animal, w^{ch} had drowned more then 20 leagues in the grounds, and cutt all the trees, having left non to make a fire if the countrey ſhould be dried up. Being come to the height, we muſt drague our boats over a trembling ground for the ſpace of an houre. The ground became trembling by this means: the caſtor drowning great ſoyles wth dead water, herein growes moſſe w^{ch} is 2 foot thick or there abouts, and when you think to goe ſafe and dry, if you take not great care you ſink downe to yo^{r} head or to the midle of yo^{r} body. When you are out of one hole you find yourſelfe in another. This I ſpeake by experience, for I meſelfe have bin catched often. But the wildmen warned me, w^{ch} ſaved me; that is, that when the moſſe ſhould breake under I ſhould caſt my whole body into the watter on ſudaine. I muſt wth my hands hold the moſſe, and goe ſoe like a frogg, then to draw my boat after me. There was no danger.

Having paſſed that place, we made a carriage through the land for 2 leagues. The way was well beaten becauſe of the commers and goers, who by making that paſſage ſhortens their paſſage by 8 dayes by tourning about the point that goes very farr in that great lake; that is to ſay, 5 to come to the point, and 3 for to come to the landing of that place of cariage. In the end of that point, that goeth very farre, there is an iſle, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not ſeene. They ſay that from the iſle of copper, which is a league in y^{e} lake when they are minded to thwart it in a faire and calme wether, beginning from ſun riſing to ſun ſett, they come to a great iſland, from whence they come the next morning to firme lande att the other ſide; ſo by reaſon of 20 leagues a day that lake ſhould be broad of 6 ſcore and 10 leagues. The wildmen doe not much leſſe when the weather is faire.

Five dayes after we came to a place where there was a company of Chriſtinos that weare in their Cottages. They weare tranſported for joy to ſee us come backe. They made much of us, and called us men indeed, to performe our promiſſe to come and ſee them againe. We gave them great guifts, w^ch^ cauſed ſome ſuſpicion, for it is a very jealous nation. But the ſhort ſtay that we made tooke away that jealouſy. We went on and came to a hollow river w^ch^ was a quarter of a mile in bredth. Many of our wildmen went to win y^e^ ſhorteſt way to their nation, and weare then 3 and 20 boats, for we mett w^th^ ſome in that lake that joyned w^th^ us, and came to keepe us company, in hopes to gett knives from us, w^ch^ they love better then we ſerve God, w^ch^ ſhould make us bluſh for ſhame. Seaven boats ſtayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to y^e^ landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage a point of 2 leagues long and ſome 60 paces broad. As we came to the other ſid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about, if we had gone in. By goeing about that ſame point we paſſed a ſtraight, for that point was very nigh the other ſide, w^ch^ is a cape very much elevated like piramides. That point ſhould be very fitt to build & advantgeous for the building of a fort, as we did the ſpring following. In that bay there is a chanell where we take great ſtore of fiſhes, ſturgeons of a vaſt biggneſſe, and Pycks of ſeaven foot long. Att the end of this bay we landed. The wildmen gave thanks to that w^{ch} they worſhip, we to God of Gods, to ſee ourſelves in a place where we muſt leave our navigation and forſake our boats to undertake a harder peece of worke in hand, to w^{ch} we are forced. The men told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journeys before we ſhould arrive where their wives weare. We foreſee the hard taſk that we weare to undergoe by carrying our bundles uppon our backs. They weare uſed to it. Here every one for himſelfe & God for all.

We finding ourſelves not able to performe ſuch a taſke, & they could not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing leaſt the Nadoneceronons had warrs againſt their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I we conſulted what was beſt to doe, and declared our will to them, w^{ch} was thus: "Brethren, we reſolve to ſtay here, being not accuſtomed to make any cariage on our backs as yee are wont. Goe yee and looke for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And ſeeing that you are not able to carry all your marchandizes att once, we will keepe them for you, and will ſtay for you 14 dayes. Before the time expired you will ſend to us if your wives be alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here & what we have; ffor their paines they ſhall receive guifts of us. Soe you will ſee us in your countrey. If they be dead, we will ſpend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole countrey for the next ſpring, for that purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe that weare the cauſers of their death, and you ſhall ſee our ſtrenght and vallour. Although there are ſeaven thouſand fighting men in one village, you 'll ſee we will make them runne away, & you ſhall kill them to your beſt liking by the very noiſe of our armes and our preſence, who are the Gods of the earth among thoſe people."

They woundered very much att our reſolution. The next day they went their way and we ſtay for our aſſurance in the midſt of many nations, being but two almoſt ſtarved for want of food. We went about to make a fort of ſtakes, w^ch^ was in this manner. Suppoſe that the watter ſide had ben in one end; att the ſame end there ſhould be murtherers, and att need we made a baſtion in a triangle to defend us from an aſſault. The doore was neare the watter ſide, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There weare boughs of trees all about our fort layed a croſſe, one uppon an other. Beſides theſe boughs we had a long cord tyed w^th^ ſome ſmall bells, w^ch^ weare ſenteryes. Finally, we made an ende of that fort in 2 dayes' time. We made an end of ſome fiſh that we putt by for neede. But as ſoone as we are lodged we went to fiſh for more whilſt the other kept the houſe. I was the fitteſt to goe out, being yongeſt. I tooke my gunne and goes where I never was before, ſo I chooſed not one way before another. I went to the wood ſome 3 or 4 miles. I find a ſmall brooke, where I walked by y^e^ ſid awhile, w^ch^ brought me into meddowes. There was a poole where weare a good ſtore of buſtards. I began to creepe though I might come neare. Thought to be in Canada, where y^e^ fowle is ſcared away; but the poore creatures, ſeeing me flatt uppon the ground, thought I was a beaſt as well as they, ſo they come neare me, whiſling like goſlings, thinking to frighten me. The whiſtling that I made them heare was another muſick then theirs. There I killed 3 and the reſt ſcared, w^ch^ neverthe leſſe came to that place againe to ſee what ſudaine ſickneſſe befeled their comrads. I ſhott againe; two payed for their curioſity. I think the Spaniards had no more to fullfill then as kill thoſe birds, that thought not of ſuch a thunder bolt. There are yett more countreys as fruitfull and as beautifull as y^e Spaniards to conquer, w^{ch} may be done wth as much eaſe & facility, and prove as rich, if not richer, for bread & wine; and all other things are as plentifull as in any part of Europ. This I have ſeene, w^{ch} am ſure the Spaniards have not in ſuch plenty. Now I come backe wth my victory, w^{ch} was to us more then tenne thouſand piſtoles. We lived by it 5 dayes. I tooke good notice of the place, in hopes to come there more frequent, but this place is not onely ſo.

There we ſtayed ſtill full 12 dayes wthout any news, but we had the company of other wild men of other countreys that came to us admiring our fort and the workmanſhipp. We ſuffered non to goe in but one perſon, and liked it ſo much the better, & often durſt not goe in, ſo much they ſtood in feare of our armes, that weare in good order, w^{ch} weare 5 guns, two muſquetons, 3 fowling-peeces, 3 paire of great piſtoletts, and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his ſword and daggar. So that we might ſay that a Coward was not well enough armed. Miſtruſt nevertheleſſe is the mother of ſafety, and the occaſion makes the thief. During that time we had ſeverall alarums in y^e night. The ſquerels and other ſmall beaſts, as well as foxes, came in and aſſaulted us. One night I forgott my bracer, w^{ch} was wett; being up and downe in thoſe pooles to fetch my ſowles, one of theſe beaſts carried it away, w^{ch} did us a great deal of wrong, and cauſed y^e life to great many of thoſe againſt whom I declared myſelſe an ennemy. We imagined that ſome wildmen might have ſurprized us; but I may ſay they weare far more afrayd then we. Some dayes after we found it one half a mile from the fort in a hole of a tree, the moſt part torne. Then I killed an Oriniack. I could have killed more, but we liked the fowles better. If we had both libertie to goe from our fort, we ſhould have procured in a month that ſhould ſerve us a whole winter. The wildmen brought us more meate then we would, and as much fiſh as we might eate.

The 12th day we perceived afarr off ſome 50 yong men coming towards us, w^th^ ſome of our formeſt compagnions. We gave them leave to come into our fort, but they are aſtonied, calling us every foot devills to have made ſuch a machine. They brought us victualls, thinking we weare halfe ſtarved, but weare mightily miſtaken, for we had more for them then they weare able to eate, having 3 ſcore buſtards and many ſticks where was meate hanged plentifully. They offred to carry our baggage, being come a purpoſe; but we had not ſo much marchandize as when they went from us, becauſe we hid ſome of them, that they might not have ſuſpicion of us. We told them that for feare of the dayly multitud of people that came to ſee us, for to have our goods would kill us. We therefore tooke a boat and putt into it our marchandiſes; this we brought farre into the bay, where we ſunke them, biding our devill not to lett them to be wett nor ruſted, nor ſuffer them to be taken away, w^ch^ he promiſed faithleſſe that we ſhould retourne and take them out of his hands; att w^ch^ they weare aſtoniſhed, believing it to be true as y^e^ Chriſtians the Goſpell. We hid them in the ground on the other ſid of y^e^ river in a peece of ground. We told them that lye that they ſhould not have ſuſpicion of us. We made good cheere. They ſtayed there three dayes, during w^{ch} time many of their wives came thither, and we traited them well, for they eat not fowle att all, ſcarce, becauſe they know not how to catch them except wth their arrowes. We putt a great many rind about our fort, and broake all the boats that we could have, for the froſt would have broaken them or wild men had ſtolen them away. That rind was tyed all in length to putt the fire in it, to frighten the more theſe people, for they could not approach it wthout being diſcovered. If they ventured att y^{e} going out we putt the fire to all the torches, ſhewing them how we would have defended ourſelves. We weare Ceſars, being nobody to contradict us. We went away free from any burden, whilſt thoſe poore miſerable thought themſelves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we ſhould give them a braſſe ring, or an awle, or an needle.

There came above foure hundred perſons to ſee us goe away from that place, w^{ch} admired more our actions [than] the fools of Paris to ſee enter their King and y^{e} Infanta of Spaine, his ſpouſe; for they cry out, "God ſave the King and Queene!" Thoſe made horrid noiſe, and called Gods and Devills of the Earth and heavens. We marched foure dayes through y^{e} woods. The countrey is beautifull, wth very few mountaines, the woods cleare. Att laſt we came wthin a league of the Cabbans, where we layed that the next day might be for our entrey. We 2 poore adventurers for the honnour of our countrey, or of thoſe that ſhall deſerve it from that day; the nimbleſt and ſtouteſt went before to warne before y^{e} people that we ſhould make our entry to-morow.

to-morow. Every one prepares to ſee what they never before have ſeene. We weare in cottages w^{ch} weare neare a litle lake ſome 8 leagues in circuit. Att y^e watterſide there weare abundance of litle boats made of trees y^t they have hollowed, and of rind.

The next day we weare to embarque in them, and arrived att y^e village by watter, w^{ch} was compoſed of a hundred cabans w^{th}out pallaſados. There is nothing but cryes. The women throw themſelves backwards uppon the ground, thinking to give us tokens of friendſhip and of wellcome. We deſtinated 3 preſents, one for the men, one for the women, and the other for the children, to the end that they ſhould remember that journey; that we ſhould be ſpoaken of a hundred years after, if other Europeans ſhould not come in thoſe quarters and be liberal to them, w^{ch} will hardly come to paſſe. The firſt was a kettle, two hattchetts, and 6 knives, and a blade for a ſword. The kettle was to call all nations that weare their friends to the feaſt w^{ch} is made for the remembrance of the death; that is, they make it once in ſeaven years; it 's a renewing of ffriendſhippe. I will talke further of it in the following diſcours. The hattchetts weare to encourage the yong people to ſtrengthen themſelves in all places, to preſerve their wives, and ſhew themſelves men by knocking the heads of their ennemyes w^{th} the ſaid hattchetts. The knives weare to ſhew that the ffrench weare great and mighty, and their confederats and ffriends. The ſword was to ſignifie that we would be maſters both of peace and warrs, being willing to healpe and relieve them, & to deſtroy our Ennemyes w^{th} our armes. The ſecond guift was of 2 and 20 awles, 50 needles, 2 gratters of caſtors, 2 ivory combs and 2 wooden ones, wth red painte, 6 looking-glaſſes of tin. The awles ſignifieth to take good courage, that we ſhould keepe their lives, and that they wth their huſbands ſhould come downe to the ffrench when time and ſeaſon ſhould permitt. Y^{e} needles for to make them robes of caſtor, becauſe the ffrench loved them. The 2 gratters weare to dreſſe the ſkins; the combes, the paint, to make themſelves beautifull; the looking-glaſſes to admire themſelves. The 3^{d} guift was of braſſe rings, of ſmall bells, and raſades of divers coulours, and given in this maner. We ſent a man to make all y^{e} children come together. When they weare there we throw theſe things over their heads. You would admire what a beat was among them, every one ſtriving to have y^{e} beſt. This was done uppon this conſideration, that they ſhould be allwayes under our protection, giving them wherewthall to make them merry & remember us when they ſhould be men.

This done, we are called to the Councell of welcome and to the feaſt of ffriendſhipp, afterwards to the dancing of the heads; but before the dancing we muſt mourne for y^{e} deceaſed, and then, for to forgett all ſorrow, to the dance. We gave them foure ſmall guifts that they ſhould continue ſuch ceremonyes, w^{ch} they tooke willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation. We knewed their councels, and made them doe whatſoever we thought beſt. This was a great advantage for us, you muſt think. Amongſt ſuch a rowiſh kind of people a guift is much, and well beſtowed, and liberality much eſteemed; but not prodigalitie is not in eſteeme, for they abuſe it, being brutiſh. Wee have ben uſeing ſuch ceremonyes 3 whole dayes, &

weare lodged in y^e cabban of the chiefeſt captayne, who came w^{th} us from the ffrench. We liked not the company of that blind, therefore left him. He wondred at this, but durſt not ſpeake, because we weare demi-gods. We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man, that had had a great familie and many children, his wifę old, neverthéleſſe handſome. They weare of a nation called Malhonmines; that is, the nation of Oats, graine y^t is much in y^t countrey. Of this afterwards more att large. I tooke this man for my ffather and y^e woman for my mother, ſoe the children conſequently brothers and ſiſters. They adopted me. I gave every one a guift, and they to mee.

Having ſo diſpoſed of our buiſſineſſe, the winter comes on, that warns us; the ſnow begins to fall, ſoe we muſt retire from the place to ſeeke our living in the woods. Every one getts his equipage ready. So away we goe, but not all to the ſame place; two, three att the moſt, went one way, and ſo of an other. They have ſo done becauſe victuals weare ſcant for all in a place. But lett us where we will, we cannot eſcape the myghty hand of God, that diſpoſes as he pleaſes, and who chaſtes us as a good & a common loving ffather, and not as our ſins doe deſerve. Finaly wee depart one from an other. As many as we weare in number, we are reduced to a ſmall company. We appointed a rendezvous after two months and a half, to take a new road & an advice what we ſhould doe. During the ſaid terme we ſent meſſengers everywhere, to give ſpeciall notice to all manner of perſons and nation that within 5 moons the feaſt of death was to be celebrated, and that we ſhould apeare together and explaine what the devill ſhould command us to ſay, and then preſent them preſents of peace and union. Now we muſt live on what God ſends, and warre againſt the bears in the meane time, for we could aime att nothing elſe, w^{ch} was y^{e} cauſe that we had no great cheare. I can ſay that we wth our comrades, who weare about 60, killed in the ſpace of 2 moons and a halfe, a thousand moons[88] we wanted not bear's greaſe to annoint ourſelves, to runne the better. We beated downe the woods dayly for to diſcover novellties. We killed ſeverall other beaſts, as Oriniacks, ſtaggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Catts of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The ſnow increaſes dayly. There we make raketts, not to play att ball, but to exerciſe ourſelves in a game harder and more neceſſary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may goe in the ſnow and not ſinke when they runne after the eland or other beaſt.

We are come to the ſmall lake, the place of rendezvous, where we found ſome company that weare there before us. We cottage ourſelves, ſtaying for the reſt, that came every day. We ſtayed 14 dayes in this place moſt miſerable, like to a churchyard; ffor there did fall ſuch a quantity of ſnow and froſt, and wth ſuch a thick miſt, that all the ſnow ſtoocke to thoſe trees that are there ſo ruffe, being deal trees, pruſſe cedars, and thorns, that cauſed y^{t} darkneſſe uppon y^{e} earth that it is to be believed that the ſun was eclipſ^{d} them 2 months; ffor after the trees weare ſo laden wth ſnow that fel'd afterwards, was as if it had been ſifted, ſo by y^{t} means very light and not able to beare us, albeit we made racketts of 6 foot long and a foot and a halfe broad; ſo often thinking to tourne ourſelves we felld over and over againe in yᵉ ſnow, and if we weare alone we ſhould have difficultie enough to riſe againe. By the noyſe we made, the Beaſts heard us a great way off; ſo the famine was among great many that had not provided before hand, and live upon what they gett that day, never thinking for the next. It grows wors and wors dayly.

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[88] The writer no doubt meant that they killed ſo many that they had bear's greaſe enough to laſt for a thouſand moons.

To augment our miſery we receive news of the Octanaks, who weare about a hundred and fifty, wᵗʰ their families. They had a quarell wᵗʰ yᵉ hurrons in the Iſle where we had come from ſome years before in the lake of the ſtairing hairs, and came purpoſely to make warres againſt them yᵉ next ſummer. But lett us ſee if they brought us anything to ſubſiſt wᵗʰall. But are worſt provided then we; having no huntſmen, they are reduced to famine. But, O curſed covetouſneſſe, what art thou going to doe? It ſhould be farr better to ſee a company of Rogues periſh then ſee ourſelves in danger to periſh by that ſcourg ſo cruell. Hearing that they have had knives and hattchetts, the victualls of their poore children is taken away from them; yea, what ever they have, thoſe doggs muſt have their ſhare. They are the courſedeſt, unableſt, the unfamous & cowarlieſt people that I have ſeene amongſt fower ſcore nations that I have frequented. O yee poore people, you ſhall have their booty, but you ſhall pay dearly for it! Every one cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men muſt eate the cord, being you have no more ſtrength to make uſe of the bow. Children, you muſt die. ffrench, you called yourſelves Gods of the earth, that you ſhould be feared, for your intereſt; notwithſtanding you ſhall taſt of the bitterneſſe, and too happy if you eſcape. Where is the time paſt? Where is the plentyneſſe that yee had in all places and countreys? Here comes a new family of theſe poore people dayly to us, halfe dead, for they have but the ſkin & boans. How ſhall we have ſtrength to make a hole in the ſnow to lay us downe, ſeeing we have it not to hale our racketts after us, nor to cutt a litle woad to make a fire to keepe us from the rigour of the cold, w^{ch} is extreame in thoſe Countreyes in its ſeaſon. Oh! if the muſick that we heare could give us recreation, we wanted not any lamentable muſick nor ſad ſpectacle. In the morning the huſband looks uppon his wife, y^{e} Brother his ſiſter, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare for the moſt part found deade. They languiſh wth cryes & hideous noiſe that it was able to make the haire ſtarre on y^{e} heads that have any apprehenſion. Good God, have mercy on ſo many poore innocent people, and of us that acknowledge thee, that having offended thee puniſhes us. But wee are not free of that cruell Executioner. Thoſe that have any life ſeeketh out for roots, w^{ch} could not be done wthout great difficultie, the earth being frozen 2 or 3 foote deepe, and the ſnow 5 or 6 above it. The greateſt ſuſibſtance that we can have is of rind tree which growes like ivie about the trees; but to ſwallow it, we cutt the ſtick ſome 2 foot long, tying it in faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two y^{e} rind or ſkinne comes off wth eaſe, w^{ch} we take and drie it in the ſmoake and then reduce it into powder betwixt two graine-ſtoans, and putting the kettle wth the ſame watter uppon the fire, we make it a kind of broath, w^{ch} nouriſhed us, but becam thirſtier and drier then the woode we eate.

The 2 firſt weeke we did eate our doggs. As we went backe uppon our ſtepps for to gett any thing to fill our bellyes, we weare glad to gett the boans and carcaſſes of the beaſts that we killed. And happy was he that could gett what the other did throw away after it had ben boyled 3 or foure times to gett the ſubſtance out of it. We contrived an other plott, to reduce to powder thoſe boanes, y^{e} reſt of crows and doggs. So putt all that together halfe foot wth-in grounde, and ſo makes a fire uppon it. We covered all that very well wth earth, ſoe feeling the heat, and boyled them againe and gave more froth then before; in the next place, the ſkins that weare reſerved to make us ſhooſe, cloath, and ſtokins, yea, moſt of the ſkins of our cottages, the caſtors' ſkins, where the children beſhit them above a hundred times. We burned the haire on the coals; the reſt goes downe throats, eating heartily theſe things moſt abhorred. We went ſo eagerly to it that our gumms did bleede like one newly wounded. The wood was our food the reſt of ſorrowfull time. Finaly we became the very Image of death. We miſtook ourſelves very often, taking the living for the dead and y^{e} dead for the living. We wanted ſtrength to draw the living out of the cabans, or if we did when we could, it was to putt them four paces in the ſnow. Att y^{e} end the wrath of God begins to appeaſe itſelfe, and pityes his poore creatures. If I ſhould expreſſe all that befell us in that ſtrange accidents, a great volume would not containe it. Here are above 500 dead, men, women, and children. It 's time to come out of ſuch miſeryes. Our bodyes are not able to hold out any further.

After the ſtorme, calme comes. But ſtormes favoured us, being that calme kills us. Here comes a wind and raine that putts a new life in us. The ſnow falls, the foreſt cleers itſelfe, att w^{ch} ſight thoſe that had ſtrings left in their bowes takes courage to uſe it. The weather continued ſo 3 dayes that we needed no racketts more, for the ſnow hardned much. The ſmall ſtaggs are [as] if they weare ſtakes in it after they made 7 or 8 capers. It 's an eaſy matter for us to take them and cutt their throats wth our knives. Now we ſee ourſelves a litle fourniſhed, but yett have not payed, ffor it coſt many their lives. Our gutts became very ſtraight by our long faſting, that they could not containe the quantity that ſome putt in them. I cannot omitt the pleaſant thoughts of ſome of them wildmen. Seeing my brother allwayes in the ſame condition, they ſaid that ſome Devill brought him wherewthall to eate; but if they had ſeene his body they ſhould be of another oppinion. The beard that covered his face made as if he had not altered his face. For me that had no beard, they ſaid I loved them, becauſe I lived as well as they. From the ſecond day we began to walke.

There came 2 men from a ſtrange countrey who had a dogg; the buiſſineſſe was how to catch him cunningly, knowing well thoſe people love their beaſts. Nevertheleſſe wee offred guifts, but they would not, w^{ch} made me ſtubborne. That dogge was very leane, and as hungry as we weare, but the maſters have not ſuffered ſo much. I went one night neere that ſame cottage to doe what diſcretion permitts me not to ſpeake. Thoſe men weare Nadoneſeronons. They weare much reſpected that no body durſt not offend them, being that we weare uppon their land wth their leave. The dogg comes out, not by any ſmell, but by good like. I take him and bring him a litle way. I ſtabbed him wth my dagger. I brought him to the cottage, where [he] was broyled like a pigge and cutt in peeces, gutts and all, ſoe every one of the family had his ſhare. The ſnow where he was killed was not loſt, ffor one of our company went and gott it to ſeaſon the kettles. We began to looke better dayly. We gave y^{e} rendezvous to the convenienteſt place to celebrat that great feaſt.

Some 2 moons after there came 8 ambaſſadors from the nation of Nadoneſeronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe. Thoſe men each had 2 wives, loadened of Oats, corne that growes in that countrey, of a ſmall quantity of Indian Corne, wth other grains, & it was to preſent to us, w^{ch} we received as a great favour & token of friendſhippe; but it had been welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonys in greaſing our feete and leggs, and we painted them wth red. They ſtript us naked and putt uppon us cloath of buffe and of white caſtors. After this they weeped uppon our heads untill we weare wetted by their tears, and made us ſmoake in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but in pipes of peace and of the warrs, that they pull out but very ſeldom, when there is occaſion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our cloaths and armour one after an other, and to conclude did throw a great quantity of tobbacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all perſons of their nation came to viſite us, that we might diſpoſe of them.

The next morning they weare called by our Interpretor. We underſtood not a word of their language, being quit contrary to thoſe that we weare wth. They are arrived, they ſatt downe. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more att our eaſe & to appeare in more ſtate. We borrowed their Calumet, ſaying that we are in their countrey, and that it was not lawfull for us to carry anything out of our countrey. That pipe is of a red ſtone, as bigge as a fiſt and as long as a hand. The ſmall reede as long as five foot, in breadth, and of the thickneſſe of a thumb. There is tyed to it the tayle of an eagle all painted over wth ſeverall coulours and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of a wheele when he ſhuts; below the toppe of the ſteeke is covered wth feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine collour. We tooke the tayle of the eagle, and inſtead of it we hung 12 Iron bows in the ſame manner as ye feathers weare, and a blade about it along the ſtaffe, a hattchett planted in ye ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armours about it uppon forks. Every one ſmoaked his pipe of tobacco, nor they never goe wthout it. During that while there was a great ſilence. We prepared ſome powder that was litle wetted, and ye good powder was precious to us. Our Interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your guifts. Yee are called here to know our will and pleaſur that is ſuch: firſt, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection, and for to ſhew you, we, inſtead of ye eagles' tayle, have putt ſome of our armours, to the end that no ennemy ſhall approach it to breake the affinitie that we make now wth you." Then we tooke the 12 Iron off y^{e} bowes and lift them up, telling them thoſe points ſhall paſſe over the whole world to defend and deſtroy your ennemyes, that are ours. Then we putt the Irons in the ſame place againe. Then we tooke the ſword and bad them have good courage, that by our means they ſhould vanquiſh their Ennemy. After we tooke the hattchett that was planted in the ground, we tourned round about, telling them that we ſhould kill thoſe that would warre againſt them, and that we would make forts y^{t} they ſhould come wth more aſſurance to the feaſt of the dead. That done, we throw powder in y^{e} fire, that had more ſtrenght then we thought; it made the brands fly from one ſide to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was ſome of our Tobacco, and make them ſmoake as they made us ſmoake. But hearing ſuch a noiſe, and they ſeeing that fire fled of every ſide, wthout any further delay or looke for ſo much time as looke for the dore of the cottage, one runne one way, another an other way, ffor they never ſaw a ſacrifice of tobacco ſo violent. They went all away, and we onely ſtayed in the place. We followed them to reaſſure them of their faintings. We viſited them in their appartments, where they received [us] all trembling for feare, believing realy by that ſame meanes that we weare the Devils of the earth. There was nothing but feaſting for 8 dayes.

The time now was nigh that we muſt goe to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a ſmall lake and a medow. Being arrived, moſt of ours weare allready in their cottages. In 3 dayes' time there arrived eighten ſeverall nations, and came

privatly,

privatly, to have done the ſooner. As we became to the number of 500, we held a councell. Then the ſhouts and cryes and the encouragments weare proclaimed, that a fort ſhould be builded. They went about the worke and made a large fort. It was about 603 ſcore paces in lenght and 600 in breadth, ſo that it was a ſquare. There we had a brooke that came from the lake and emptied itſelfe in thoſe medows, w^{ch} had more then foure leagues in lenght. Our ſort might be ſeene afar off, and on y^{t} ſide moſt delightfull, for the great many ſtagges that took the boldneſſe to be carried by quarters where att other times they made good cheare.

In two dayes this was finiſhed. Soone 30 yong men of y^{e} nation of the beefe arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, wth very ſhort garments, to be the nimbler in chaſing the ſtagges. The Iron of their arrows weare made of ſtaggs' pointed horens very neatly. They weare all proper men, and dreſſed wth paint. They weare the diſcoverers and y^{e} foreguard. We kept a round place in y^{e} midle of our Cabban and covered it wth long poles wth ſkins over them, that we might have a ſhelter to keepe us from y^{e} ſnow. The cottages weare all in good order; in each 10, twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood layd for the fires. The ſnow was taken away, and the earth covered wth deale tree bows. Severall kettles weare brought there full of meate. They reſted and eat above 5 houres wthout ſpeaking one to another. The conſiderableſt of our companyes went and made ſpeeches to them. After one takes his bow and ſhoots an arrow, and then cryes aloud, there ſpeaks ſome few words, ſaying that they weare to lett them know the Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendſhip and to make it wth y^{e} ffrench, and that a great many of their yong people came and brought them ſome part of their wayes to take their advice, ffor they had a minde to goe againſt y^{e} Chriſtinos, who weare ready for them, and they in like manner to ſave their wives & children. They weare ſcattered in many Cabbans that night, expecting thoſe that weare to come. To that purpoſe there was a vaſt large place prepared ſome hundred paces from y^{e} fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of thoſe perſons. They weare to ſett their tents, that they bring uppon their backs. The pearches weare putt out and planted as we received the news; the ſnow putt aſide, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The day following they arrived wth an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of y^{e} Intrance y^{t} y^{e} Polanders did in Paris, ſaving that they had not ſo many Jewells, but inſtead of them they had ſo many feathers. The ffirſt weare yong people wth their bows and arrows and Buckler on their ſhoulders, uppon w^{ch} weare repreſented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of y^{e} ſun and moone, of terreſtriall beaſts, about its feathers very artificialy painted. Moſt of the men their faces weare all over dabbed wth feverall collours. Their hair turned up like a Crowne, and weare cutt very even, but rather ſo burned, for the fire is their cicers. They leave a tuff of haire upon their Crowne of their heads, tye it, and putt att y^{e} end of it ſome ſmall pearles or ſome Turkey ſtones, to bind their heads. They have a role commonly made of a ſnake's ſkin, where they tye feverall bears' paws, or give a forme to ſome bitts of buff's horns, and put it about the ſaid role. They greaſe themſelves wth

very thick greaſe, & mingle it in reddiſh earth, w^{ch} they bourne, as we our breeks. W^{th} this ſtuffe they gett their haire to ſtand up. They cutt ſome downe of Swan or other fowle that hath a white feather, and cover w^{th} it the crowne of their heads. Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are ſo bigg that yo^{r} little finger might paſſe through. They have yallow waire that they make w^{th} copper, made like a ſtarr or a half moone, & there hang it. Many have Turkeys. They are cloathed w^{th} Oriniack & ſtaggs' ſkins, but very light. Every one had the ſkin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their ſtokens all inbrodered w^{th} pearles and w^{th} their own porke-pick worke. They have very handſome ſhooſe laced very thick all over w^{th} a peece ſowen att the ſide of y^{e} heele, w^{ch} was of a haire of Buff, w^{ch} trailed above halfe a foot upon the earth, or rather on the ſnow. They had ſwords and knives of a foot and a halfe long, and hattchetts very ingeniouſly done, and clubbs of wood made like backſwords; ſome made of a round head that I admired it. When they kille their ennemy they cutt off y^{e} tuffe of haire and tye it about their armes. After all, they have a white robe made of Caſtors' ſkins painted. Thoſe having paſſed through the midle of ours, that weare ranged att every ſide of the way. The Elders came w^{th} great gravitie and modeſtie, covered w^{th} buff coats w^{ch} hung downe to y^{e} grounde. Every one had in his hand a pipe of Councell ſett w^{th} precious jewells. They had a ſack on their ſhoulders, and y^{t} that holds it grows in the midle of their ſtomacks and on their ſhoulders. In this ſacke all y^{e} world is incloſed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dreſſed as the foremoſt. Then y^{e} women laden like unto ſo many mules, their burdens made a greater ſhew then they themſelves; but I ſupoſe the weight was not equipolent to its bigneſſe. They weare conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and flang their ſkins whereof their tents are made, ſo that they had howſes [in] leſſe then half an houre.

After they reſted they came to the biggeſt cabbane conſtituted for that purpoſe. There weare fires kindled. Our Captayne made a ſpeech of thankſgiving, w^th^ ſhould be long to writ it. We are called to the councell of new come chiefe, where we came in great pompe, as you ſhall heare. Firſt they come to make a ſacrifice to the ffrench, being Gods and maſters of all things, as of peace, as warrs; making the knives, the hattchetts, and y^e^ kettles rattle, etc. That they came purpoſely to putt themſelves under their protection. Moreover, that they came to bring them back againe to their countrey, having by their means deſtroyed their Ennemyes abroad & neere. So ſaid, they preſent us w^th^ guifts of Caſtors' ſkins, aſſuring us that y^e^ mountains weare elevated, y^e^ valleys riſen, the ways very ſmooth, the bows of trees cutt downe to goe w^th^ more eaſe, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wett our feete; that the dores of their villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, weare open at any time to receive us, being wee kept them alive by our marchandiſes. The ſecond guift was, y^t^ they would die in their alliance, and that to certifie to all nations by continuing the peace, & weare willing to receive and aſſiſt them in their countrey, being well ſatisfied they weare come to celebrat y^e^ feaſt of the dead. The 3^rd^ guift was for to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if neede required, to receive and keepe them from the Chriſtinos that come to deſtroy them; being allwayes men, and the heavens made them ſo, that they weare obliged to goe before to defend their country and their wives, w^{ch} is y^e deareſt thing they had in the world, & in all times they weare eſteemed ſtout & true ſoldiers, & that yett they would make it appeare by going to meet them; and y^t they would not degenerat, but ſhew by their actions that they weare as valiant as their fore ffathers. The 4^{th} guift was preſented to us, w^{ch} [was] of Buff ſkins, to deſire our aſſiſtance ffor being the maſters of their lives, and could diſpoſe of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the warrs, and that we might very well ſee that they did well to goe defend their owne countrey; that the true means to gett the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gune, calling it *miniſkoick.*

The ſpeech being finiſhed, they intreated us to be att the feaſt. We goe preſently back againe to fourniſh us w^{th} woaden bowls. We made foure men to carry our guns afore us, that we charged of powder alone, becauſe of their unſkillfullneſſe that they might have killed their ffathers. We each of us had a paire of piſtoletts and Sword, a dagger. We had a role of porkepick about our heads, w^{ch} was as a crowne, and two litle boyes that carryed the veſſells that we had moſt need of; this was our diſhes and our ſpoons. They made a place higher & moſt elevate, knowing our cuſtoms, in the midle for us to ſitt, where we had the men lay our armes. Preſently comes foure elders, w^{th} y^e calumet kindled in their hands. They preſent y^e candles to us to ſmoake, and foure beautifull maids that went before us carrying bears' ſkins to putt under us. When we weare together, an old man riſes & throws our calumet att our feet, and bids them take the kettles from of yᵉ fire, and ſpoake that he thanked the ſun that never was a day to him ſo happy as when he ſaw thoſe terrible men whoſe words makes the earth quacke, and ſang a while. Having ended, came and covers us wᵗʰ his veſtment, and all naked except his feet and leggs, he ſaith, "Yee are maſters over us; dead or alive you have the power over us, and may diſpoſe of us as your pleaſur." So done, takes the callumet of yᵉ feaſt, and brings it, ſo a maiden brings us a coale of fire to kindle it. So done, we roſe, and one of us begins to ſing. We bad the interpreter to tell them we ſhould ſave & keepe their lives, taking them for our brethren, and to teſtify that we ſhott of all our artillery, wᶜʰ was of twelve gunns. We draw our ſwords and long knives to our defence, if need ſhould require, wᶜʰ putt the men in ſuch a terror that they knewed not what was beſt to run or ſtay. We throw a handfull of powder in the fire to make a greater noiſe and ſmoake.

Our ſongs being finiſhed, we began our teeth to worke. We had there a kinde of rice, much like oats. It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that ſhews himſelfe in every countrey, almighty, full of goodneſſe, and yᵉ preſervation of thoſe poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two ſticks, by wᶜʰ they gett yᵉ eare downe and gett the corne out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and that is their food for the moſt part of the winter, and doe dreſſe it thus: ffor each man a handfull of that they putt in the pott, that ſwells ſo much that it can ſuffice a man. After the feaſt was over there comes two maidens bringing wherewthall to ſmoake, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered ffirſt to one of y^{e} elders, that ſatt downe by us. When he had ſmoaked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went backe to our fort as we came.

The day following we made y^{e} principall Perſons come together to anſwer to their guifts. Being come wth great ſolemnity, there we made our Interpreter tell them that we weare come from the other ſide of y^{e} great ſalted lake, not to kill them but to make y^{m} live; acknowledging you for our brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our owne; then we gave them a kettle. The ſecond guift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generouſly defended themſelves againſt all their ennemyes; and as we weare maſters of peace and warrs, we are to diſpoſe the affairs that we would ſee an univerſall peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not goe and force the nations that weare yett further to condeſcend & ſubmitt to our will, but that we would ſee the neighbouring countreys in peace and union; that the Chriſtinos weare our brethren, and have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and tooke them under our protection; that we ſhould ſend them ambaſſadors; that I myſelf ſhould make them come, and conclude a generall peace; that we weare ſure of their obedience to us; that the ffirſt that ſhould breake the peace we would be their ennemy, and would reduce them to powder wth our heavenly fire; that we had the word of y^{e} Chriſtinos as well as theirs, and our thunders ſhould ſerve us to make warrs againſt thoſe that would not ſubmitt to our will and deſire,

wth

wch was to ſee them good ffriends, to goe and make warrs againſt the upper nations, that doth not know us as yett. The guift was of 6 hattchetts. The 3rd was to oblige them to receive our propoſitions, likewiſe the Chriſtinos, to lead them to ye dance of Union, wch was to be celebrated at ye death's feaſt and banquett of kindred. If they would continue the warrs, yt was not ye meanes to ſee us againe in their Countrey. The 4th was that we thanked them ffor making us a free paſſage through their countreys. Ye guift was of 2 dozen of knives. The laſt was of ſmaller trifles,— 6 gratters, 2 dozen of awles, 2 dozen of needles, 6 dozens of looking-glaſſes made of tine, a dozen of litle bells, 6 Ivory combs, wth a litle vermillion. Butt ffor to make a recompence to ye good old man that ſpake ſo favorably, we gave him a hattchett, and to the Elders each a blade for a ſword, and to the 2 maidens yt ſerved us 2 necklaces, wch putt about their necks, and 2 braceletts for their armes. The laſt guift was in generall for all ye women to love us and give us to eat when we ſhould come to their cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!* that is, thanks. Our wildmen made others for their intereſt.

A company of about 50 weare diſpatched to warne the Chriſtinos of what we had done. I went myſelf, where we arrived the 3rd day, early in ye morning. I was received wth great demonſtration of ffriendſhippe. All that day we feaſted, danced, and ſing. I compared that place before to the Buttery of Paris, ffor the great quantity of meat that they uſe to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received guifts of all ſorts of meate, of greaſe more then 20 men could carry. The cuſtome is not to deface anything that they preſent. There weare above 600 men in a fort, wth a great deale of baggage on their ſhoulders, and did draw it upon light ſlids made very neatly. I have not ſeen them att their entrance, ffor the ſnow blinded mee. Coming back, we paſſed a lake hardly frozen, and the ſun [ſhone upon it] for the moſt part, ffor I looked a while ſteadfaſtly on it, ſo I was troubled wth this ſeaven or eight dayes.

The meane while that we are there, arrived above a thouſand that had not ben there but for thoſe two redoubted nations that weare to ſee them doe what they never before had, a difference wch was executed wth a great deale of mirth. I ffor feare of being inuied I will obmitt onely that there weare playes, mirths, and bataills for ſport, goeing and coming wth cryes; each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced wth melody. The yong men that indeavoured to gett a pryſe, indeavoured to clime up a great poſt, very ſmooth, and greaſed wth oyle of beare & oriniack greaſe. The ſtake was att leaſt of 15 foot high. The price was a knife or other thing. We layd ye ſtake there, but whoſo could catch it ſhould have it. The feaſt was made to eate all up. To honnour the feaſt many men and women did burſt. Thoſe of that place coming backe, came in ſight of thoſe of the village or fort, made poſtures in ſimilitud of warrs. This was to diſcover the ennemy by ſigns; any that ſhould doe ſoe we gave orders to take him, or kill him and take his head off. The priſoner to be tyed [and] to fight in retreating. To pull an arrow out of ye body; to exerciſe and ſtrike wth a clubbe, a buckler to theire feete, and take it if neede requireth, and defende himſelfe, if neede requirs, from the ennemy; being in ſentery to heark yᵉ ennemy that comes neere, and to heare the better lay him downe on the ſide. Theſe poſtures are playd while the drums beate. This was a ſerious thing, wᵗʰout ſpeaking except by nodding or geſture. Their drums weare earthen potts full of watter, covered wᵗʰ ſtaggs-ſkin. The ſticks like hammers for yᵉ purpoſe. The elders have bomkins to the end of their ſtaves full of ſmall ſtones, wᶜʰ makes a ratle, to wᶜʰ yong men and women goe in a cadance. The elders are about theſe potts, beating them and ſinging. The women alſo by, having a noſegay in their hands, and dance very modeſtly, not lifting much their feete from the ground, keeping their heads downewards, makeing a ſweet harmony. We made guifts for that while 14 days' time. Every one brings yᵉ moſt exquiſite things, to ſhew what his country affoards. The renewing of their alliances, the mariages according to their countrey couſtoms, are made; alſo the viſit of the boans of their deceaſed ffriends, ffor they keepe them and beſtow them uppon one another. We ſang in our language as they in theirs, to wᶜʰ they gave greate attention. We gave them ſeverall guifts, and received many. They beſtowed upon us above 300 robs of caſtors, out of wᶜʰ we brought not five to the ffrench, being far in yᵉ countrey.

This feaſt ended, every one retourns to his countrey well ſatisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of yᵉ beefe, wᶜʰ was ſeaven ſmall Journeys from that place. We promiſed in like maner to the Chriſtinos yᵉ next ſpring we ſhould come to their ſide of the upper lake, and there they ſhould meete us, to come into their countrey. We being arrived among yᵗ nation of the beefe, we wondred to finde ourſelves in a towne where weare great cabbans moſt covered wth ſkins and other cloſe matts. They tould us that there weare 7,000 men. This we believed. Thoſe have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did treſpaſſe upon the other, his noſe was cutt off, and often the crowne of his head. The maidens have all maner of freedome, but are forced to mary when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are reſpected. I have ſeene a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make proviſion of moſſe for their firing. This their place is environed wth pearches w^{ch} are a good diſtance one from an other, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe uſe to repaire, uppon w^{ch} they do live. They ſow corne, but their harveſt is ſmall. The ſoyle is good, but the cold hinders it, and y^{e} graine very ſmall. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered wth a kind of Stone that is tranſparent and tender, and like to that of Venice. The people ſtay not there all y^{e} yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Caſtors, and I ſay that there are not ſo good in the whole world, but not in ſuch a ſtore as the Chriſtinos, but far better.

Wee ſtayed there 6 weeks, and came back wth a company of people of y^{e} nation of y^{e} Sault, y^{t} came along wth us loaden wth booty. We weare 12 dayes before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The ſpring approaches, w^{ch} [is] the fiteſt time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I wth my brother killed that time above 600, beſides other beaſts. We came to the lake ſide wth much paines, ffor we ſent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 dayes through the woods. After we mett wth a company that did us a great deale of ſervice, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived att the appointed place before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort. Att our arrivall we found att leaſt 20 cottages full.

One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, w^{ch} we finde in a good condition. We went about to execut our reſolution, fforſeeing that we muſt ſtay that yeare there, ffor w^{ch} wee weare not very ſorry, being reſolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice ſhould vaniſh, but received [news] that the Octanaks built a fort on the point that formes that Bay, w^{ch} reſembles a ſmall lake. We went towards it wth all ſpeede. We had a great ſtore of booty w^{ch} we would not truſt to y^{e} wildmen, ffor the occaſion makes y^{e} thiefe. We overloaded our ſlide on that rotten Ice, and the further we went the Sun was ſtronger, w^{ch} made our Trainage have more difficultie. I ſeeing my brother ſo ſtrained, I tooke y^{e} ſlide, w^{ch} was heavier then mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above foure leagues from y^{e} ground, we ſunke downe above the one halfe of y^{e} legge in the Ice, and muſt advance in ſpight of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undoe us. We ſtrived ſo that I hurted myſelfe in ſo much that I could not ſtand up right, nor any further. This putt us in great trouble. Uppon this I adviſed my brother to leave me wth his ſlide. We putt the two ſleds one by another. I tooke ſome cloathes to cover mee. After I ſtripped myſelfe from my wett cloathes, I layed myſelfe downe on the ſlide; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to goe. He makes haſt and came there in time and ſends wildmen for me and the ſlids. There we found the perfidiouſneſſe of the Octanaks. Seeing us in Extremitie, would preſcribe us laws. We promiſed them whatever they aſked. They came to fetch me.

For eight dayes I was ſo tormented I thought never to recover. I reſted neither day nor night; at laſt by means that God and my brother did uſe, wch was by rubbing my leggs wth hott oyle of bears and keeping my thigh and leggs well tyed, it came to its former ſtrenght. After a while I came to me ſelfe. There comes a great company of new wildmen to ſeeke a nation in that land for a weighty buiſſineſſe. They deſired me to goe a long, so I prepare myſelfe to goe wth them. I marched well 2 dayes; the 3rd day the ſore begins to breake out againe, in ſo much that I could goe no further. Thoſe left me, albeit I came for their ſake. You will ſee the cruelties of thoſe beaſts, and I may think that thoſe yt liveth on fiſh uſes more inhumanities then thoſe that feed upon fleſh; nevertheleſſe I proceeded forwards the beſt I could, but knewed [not] where for ye moſt part, ye ſun being my onely guide.

There was ſome ſnow as yett on the ground, wch was ſo hard in the mornings that I could not percave any tracks. The worſt was that I had not a hattchett nor other arme, and not above the weight of ten pounds of victualls, wthout any drink. I was obliged to proceed five dayes for my good fortune. I indured much in the morning, but a litle warmed, I went wth more eaſe. I looked betimes for ſom old cabbans where I found wood to make fire wherwth. I melted the ſnow in my cappe that was ſo greaſy. One night I finding a cottage covered it wth boughs of trees that I found ready cutt. The fire came to it as I began to ſlumber, wch ſoone awaked me in haſt, lame as I was, to ſave meſelfe from the fire. My racketts, ſhoos, and ſtokens kept me my life; I muſt needs ſave them. I tooke them and flung them as farr as I could in the ſnow. The fire being out, I was forced to looke for them, as dark as it was, in ye ſaid ſnow, all naked & very lame, and almoſt ſtarved both for hungar and cold. But what is it that a man cannot doe when he ſeeth that it concerns his life, that one day he muſt looſe? Yett we are to prolong it as much as we cane, & the very feare maketh us to invent new wayes.

The fifth day I heard a noyſe and thought it of a wolfe. I ſtood ſtill, and ſoone perceived that it was of a man. Many wild men weare up and downe looking for me, fearing leaſt the Bears ſhould have devoured me. That man came neere and ſaluts me, and demands whether it was I. We both ſatt downe; he looks in my ſacke to ſee if I had victualls, where he finds a peece as bigg as my fiſt. He eats this wthout participation, being their uſuall way. He inquireth if I was a hungary. I tould him no, to ſhew meſelfe ſtout and reſolute. He takes a pipe of tobacco, and then above 20 pounds of victualls he takes out of his ſack, and greaſed, and gives it me to eate. I eat what I could, and gave him the reſt. He bids me have courage, that ye village was not far off. He demands if I knewed ye way, but I was not ſuch as ſhould ſay no. The village was att hand. The other wildmen arrived but the day before, and after a while came by boats to the lake. The boats weare made of Oriniacks' ſkins. I find my brother wth a company of

Chriſtinos that weare arrived in my abſence. We reſolved to cover our buiſſineſſe better, and cloſe our deſigne as if we weare going a hunting, and ſend them before; that we would follow them ye next night, wch we did, & ſucceeded, but not wthout much labor and danger; for not knowing the right way to thwart the other ſide of the lake, we weare in danger to periſh a thouſand times becauſe of the crums of Ice. We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other ſide att night. When we came there, we knewed not where to goe, on the right or left hand, ffor we ſaw no body. Att laſt, as we wth full ſayle came from a deepe Bay, we perceived ſmoake and tents. Then many boats from thence came to meete us. We are received wth much Joy by thoſe poore Chriſtinos. They ſuffered not that we trod on ground; they leade us into the midle of their cottages in our own boats, like a couple of cocks in a Baſquett. There weare ſome wildmen that followed us but late. We went away wth all haſt poſſible to arrive the ſooner att ye great river. We came to the ſeaſide, where we finde an old howſe all demolliſhed and battered wth boulletts. We weare told yt thoſe that came there weare of two nations, one of the wolf, the other of the long-horned beaſt. All thoſe nations are diſtinguiſhed by the repreſentation of the beaſts or animals. They tell us particularities of the Europians. We know ourſelves, and what Europ is, therefore in vaine they tell us as for that.

We went from Iſle to Iſle all that ſummer. We pluckt abundance of Ducks, as of all other ſort of fowles; we wanted nor fiſh nor freſh meate. We weare well beloved, and weare overjoyed that we promiſed them to come wth ſuch ſhipps as we invented. This place hath a great ſtore of cows. The wildmen kill them not except for neceſſary uſe. We went further in the bay to ſee yᵉ place that they weare to paſſe that ſummer. That river comes from the lake and empties itſelfe in yᵉ river of Sagnes, called Tadouſack, wᶜʰ is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we weare in yᵉ Bay of yᵉ north. We left in this place our marks and rendezvous. The wildmen yᵗ brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we ſhould by no means land, and ſo goe to the river to the other ſid, that is, to the north, towards yᵉ ſea, telling us that thoſe people weare very treacherous. Now, whether they tould us this out of pollicy, leaſt we ſhould not come to them ffirſt, & ſo be deprived of what they thought to gett from us [I know not]. In that you may ſee that yᵉ envy and envy raigns every where amongſt poore barbarous wild people as att Courts. They made us a mapp of what we could not ſee, becauſe the time was nigh to reape among yᵉ buſtards and Ducks. As we came to the place where theſe oats growes (they grow in many places), you would think it ſtrang to ſee the great number of ffowles, that are ſo fatt by eating of this graine that heardly they will move from it. I have ſeene a wildman killing 3 ducks at once wᵗʰ one arrow. It is an ordinary thing to ſee five [or] ſix hundred ſwans together. I muſt profeſſe I wondred that the winter there was ſo cold, when the ſand boyles att the watter ſide for the extreame heate of the ſun. I putt ſome eggs in that ſand, and leave them halfe an houre; the eggs weare as hard as ſtones. We paſſed that ſummer quietly, coaſting the ſeaſide, and as the cold began, we prevented the Ice. We have the commoditie of the river to carry our things in our boats to the beſt place, where weare moſt beſts.

This is a wandring nation, and containeth a vaſte countrey. In winter they live in y^e^ land for the hunting ſake, and in ſummer by the watter for fiſhing. They never are many together, ffor feare of wronging one another. They are of a good nature, & not great whore maſters, having but one wife, and are [more] ſatisfied then any others that I knewed. They cloath themſelves all over w^th^ caſtors' ſkins in winter, in ſummer of ſtaggs' ſkins. They are the beſt huntſmen of all America, and ſcorns to catch a caſtor in a trappe. The circumjacent nations goe all naked when the ſeaſon permitts it. But this have more modeſtie, ffor they putt a piece of copper made like a finger of a glove, w^ch^ they uſe before their nature. They have the ſame tenents as the nation of the beefe, and their apparell from topp to toe. The women are tender and delicat, and takes as much paines as ſlaves. They are of more acute wits then the men, ffor the men are fools, but diligent about their worke. They kill not the yong caſtors, but leave them in the watter, being that they are ſure that they will take him againe, w^ch^ no other nation doth. They burne not their priſoners, but knock them in the head, or ſlain them w^th^ arrows, ſaying it's not decent for men to be ſo cruell. They have a ſtone of Turquois from the nation of the buff and beefe, w^th^ whome they had warrs. They polliſh them, and give them, the forme of pearle, long, flatt, round, and [hang] them att their noſe. They [find] greene ſtones, very fine, att the ſide of the ſame bay of the ſea to y^e^ norweſt. There is a nation called among themſelves neuter. They ſpeake the beefe and Chriſtinos' ſpeech, being friends to both. Thoſe poore people could not tell us what to give us. They weare overjoyed when we ſayd we ſhould bring them commodities. We went up on another river, to y^{e} upper lake. The nation of the beefe ſent us guifts, and we to them, by [the] ambaſſadors. In the midle of winter we joyned wth a Company of y^{e} fort, who gladly received us. They weare reſolved to goe to the ffrench y^{e} next ſpring, becauſe they weare quite out of ſtocke. The feaſt of the dead conſumed a great deale of it. They blamed us, ſaying we ſhould not truſt any y^{t} we did not know. They upon this aſked if we are where the trumpetts are blowne. We ſayd yea, and tould that they weare a nation not to be truſted, and if we came to that ſea we ſhould warre agst them, becaus they weare bad nation, and did their indeavour to tak us to make us their ſlaves.

In the beginning of Spring there came a company of men that came to ſee us from the elders, and brought us furrs to intice us to ſee them againe. I cannot omitt [a] pleaſant encounter that happened to my brother as we weare both in a cottag. Two of the nation of the beefe came to ſee us; in that time my brother had ſome trade in his hands. The wildmen ſatt neere us. My brother ſhews unto them the Image w^{ch} [re]preſented the flight of Joſeph and holy mary wth the child Jeſus, to avoid the anger of herod, and the Virgin and child weare riding the aſſe, and Joſeph carrying a long cloake. My brother ſhewing that animal, naming it *tatanga*, w^{ch} is a buffe, y^{e} wildmen, ſeeing the repreſentation of a woman, weare aſtoniſhed and weeps, pulls their haire, and tumbles up and downe to the fire, ſo continued half an houre, till he was in a ſweat, and wetted wth his tears the reſt of the wildmen that weare there. One of them went out of the cottage. My brother and I weare ſurprized; thought they might have ſeene a viſion, ffor inſtantly the man putt his hands on his face, as if he ſhould make the ſigne of the croſſe. Now as he came to himſelfe, he made us underſtand, ffor I began to know much of their ſpeech, that firſt we weare Devills, knowing all what is and what was done; moreover, that he had his deſire, y^{t} was his wif and child, whome weare taken by the nation of the beefe foure years agoe. So he tooke the aſſe for the nation of the beefe, the Virgin mary for the picture of his wife, and Jeſus for his ſon, and Joſeph for himſelfe, ſaying, "There am I wth my long robe, ſeeking for my wife and child."

By our ambaſſadors I came to know an other Lake w^{ch} is northerly of their countrey. They ſay y^{t} it 's bigger then all the reſt. The upper end is allways frozen. Their ffiſh comes from thoſe parts. There are people that lives there and dare not trade in it towards the ſouth. There is a river ſo deepe and blacke y^{t} there is no bottome. They ſay that fiſh goes neither out nor in to that river. It is very warme, and if they durſt navigate in it, they ſhould not come to the end in 40 dayes. That river comes from the lake, and the inhabitants makes warrs againſt the birds, that defends & offends wth theire bills y^{t} are as ſharpe as ſword. This I cannot tell for truth, but told me. All the circumjacent neighbours do incourage us, ſaying y^{t} they would venter their lives wth us, for w^{ch} we weare much overjoyed to ſee them ſo freely diſpoſed to goe along wth us. Here nothing but courage.

"Brother, doe not lye, ffor the ffrench will not believe thee." All men of courage and vallour, lett them fetch commodities, and not ſtand lazing and be a beggar in the cabbane. It is the way to be beloved of women, to goe and bring them wherewthall to be joyfull. We preſent guifts to one and to another for to warne them to that end that we ſhould make the earth quake, and give terror to the Iroquoits if they weare ſo bold as to ſhew themſelves. The Chriſtinos made guifts that they might come wth us. This was graunted unto them, to ſend 2 boats, to teſtifie that they weare retained ſlaves among the other nations, although they furniſh them wth caſtors. The boats ready, we embarque ourſelves. We weare 700. There was not ſeene ſuch a company to goe downe to the ffrench. There weare above 400 Chriſtinos' boats that brought us their caſtors, in hopes that y^{e} people ſhould give ſome marchandiſes for them. Att their retourne the biggeſt boats could carry onely the man and his wife, and could ſcarce carry wth them 3 caſtors, ſo little weare their boats. In ſummer time I have ſeene 300 men goe to warrs, and each man his boat, ffor they are that makes y^{e} leaſt boats. The company that we had filled above 360 boats. There weare boats that caryed ſeaven men, and the leaſt two. It was a pleaſur to ſee that imbarquing, ffor all the yong women went in ſtark naked, their hairs hanging down, yett it is not their couſtoms to doe ſoe. I thought it their ſhame, but contrary they thinke it excellent & old cuſtome good. They ſing a loud and ſweetly. They ſtood in their boats, and remained in that poſture halfe a day, to encourage us to come and lodge wth them againe. Therefore they are not alltogether aſhamed to ſhew us all, to intice us, and inanimate the men to defend themſelves valliantly and come and injoy them.

In two dayes we arrived att the River of the ſturgeon, ſo called becauſe of the great quantity of ſturgeons that we tooke there. Here we weare to make our proviſſions to paſſe the lake ſome 14 dayes. In y^e ſaid tearme wee dryed up above a million of ſturgeons.[56] The women followed us cloſe; after our abode there two dayes they overtooke us. We had ſeverall fals allarums, w^{ch} putt us in ſeverall troubles. They woundred to have found an Oryanck dead uppon the place, w^{th} a boullet in his body. There thouſand lyes weare forged. Therefore we goe from thence, but before we come to the Longpoint whereof we ſpoak before, the wildmen called it *okinotoname*, we perceive ſmoake. We goe to diſcover what it was, and by ill looke we found it was a Iroquoits boat of ſeaven men, who doubtleſſe ſtayed y^t winter in the lake of the hurrons, and came there to diſcover ſomewhat. I cannot ſay that they weare the firſt that came there. God graunt that they may be the laſt. As they ſaw us, away they, as ſwift as their heels could drive. They left their boat and all. They to the woods, and weare purſued, but in vaine, ffor they weare gone before three houres. The purſuers came backe; y^e one brings a gun, y^e one a hattchett, the other a kettle, and ſo forth. The councell was called, where it was decreed to go backe and ſhooke off to goe downe to the ffrench till the next yeare. This vexed us ſore to ſee ſuch a fleete and ſuch an opportunity come to nothing, foreſeeing that ſuch an other may be not in tenne years. We weare to perſuade them to the contrary, but checked ſoundly, ſaying we weare worſe then Ennemyes by perſwading them to goe and be ſlained. In this we muſt lett theire feare paſſe over, and we back to the river of the ſturgeons, where we found our wives, very buiſſie in killing thoſe creatures that comes there to multiplie. We dayly heare ſome newe reporte. All every where ennemy by fancy.

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[56] He no doubt meant to ſay, above "un mille," or "above a thouſand."

We in the meane time buiſſie ourſelves in the good of our country, wch will recompence us badly ffor ſuch toyle and labour. Twelve dayes are paſſed, in wch time we gained ſome hopes of faire words. We called a councell before the company was diſbanded, where we repreſented, if they weare diſcouvers, they had not vallued the loſſe of their kettle, knowing well they weare to gett another where their army layed, and if there ſhould be an army it ſhould appeare and we in ſuch an number, they could be well afraid and turne backe. Our reaſons weare hard and put in execution. The next day we embarqued, ſaving the Chriſtinos, that weare afraid of a ſight of a boat made of another ſtuff then theirs, that they went back as we came where the Iroquoits' boat was. Our words proved true and ſo proceeded in our way.

Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where 2 of theſe men ſweated, & for want of covers buried themſelves in the ſand by the watter ſide to keepe their bodyes from the flyes called maringoines, wch otherwiſe had killed them wth their ſtings. We thwarted thoſe 2 great lakes wth great pleaſur, having ye wind faire wth us. It was a great ſatiſfaction to ſee ſo many boats, and ſo many that never had before commerce wth ye ffrench. So my brother and I thought wee ſhould be wellcomed. But, O covetouſneſſe, thou art ye cauſe of many evils! We made a ſmall ſayle to every boate; every one ſtrived to be not the laſt. The wind was double wayes favourable to us. The one gave us reſt, the other advanced us very much, wch wee wanted much because of the above ſaid delay. We now are comed to the cariages and ſwift ſtreames to gett the lake of the Caſtors. We made them wth a courage, promptitud, and hungar wch made goe wth haſt as well as ye wind. We goe downe all ye great river wthout any encounter, till we came to the long Sault, where my brother ſome years before made a ſhipwrake. Being in that place we had worke enough. The firſt thing wee ſaw was ſeverall boats that ye Ennemy had left att ye riverſide. This putt great feare in the hearts of our people. Nor they nor we could tell what to doe; and ſeeing no body appeared we ſent to diſcover what they weare. The diſcovers calls us, and bids us come, that thoſe who weare there could doe us no harme.

You muſt know that 17 ffrench made a plott wth foure Algonquins to make a league wth three ſcore hurrons for to goe and wait for the Iroquoits in the paſſage att their retourne wth their caſtors on their ground, hoping to beat and deſtroy them wth eaſe, being deſtitut of neceſſary things. If one hath his gun he wants his powder, and ſo the reſt. Att ye other ſide wthout doubt had notice that ye travelers weare abroad, and would not faile to come downe wth a company, and to make a valiant deede and heroick action was to deſtroy them all, and conſequently make the ffrench tremble as well as the wildmen, ffor the one could not live wthout the other; the one for his commodities, the other ffor his caſtors; ſo that y^{e} Iroqoits pretending to wait for us at y^{e} paſſage came thither fflocking. The ffrench and wild company, to putt the Iroquoit in ſome feare, and hinder his coming there ſo often wth ſuch confidence, weare reſolved to lay a ſnare agst him. That company of ſouldiers being come to the fartheſt place of that long ſault wthout being diſcovered, thought all-ready to be conquerors making cariage, having abroad 15 men to make diſcoveries, but mett as many ennemyes. They aſſaulted each other, and y^{e} Iroquoits found themſelves weake, left there their lives and bodyes, ſaving 2 that made their eſcape, went to give notice to 200 of theirs that made ready as they heard the gunns, to help their foreguard. The ffrench ſeeing ſuch great odds made a retreat, and warned by foure Algonquins y^{t} a fort was built not afar off, built by his nation y^{e} laſt yeare, they fled into it in an ill houre. In y^{e} meane while the Iroquoits conſulted what they ſhould doe; they ſent to 550 Iroquoits of the lower nation and 50 Orijonot y^{t} weare not afar off. Now they would aſſault y^{e} ffrench in their ffort, y^{e} ffort not holding but 20 men. The hurrons could not come in and could not avoid the ſhott of the ennemy. Then the ffrench pulled downe y^{e} fort, and cloſed together they ſtoutly began to worke. Thoſe that the ffrench had killed, cutt their heads off & put them uppon long poles of their fort. This ſkermiſh dured two dayes & two nights. The Iroquoits finds themſelves plagued, ffor the ffrench had a kind of bucklers and ſhelters. Now arrives 600 men that they did not think of in y^{e} leaſt. Here is nothing but cryes, fire, and flame day & night. Here is not to be doubted, y^{e} one to take y^{e} other, the one to defend himſelfe till death. The hurrons ſeeing ſuch a company ſubmitted to the ennemyes, but are like to pay for their cowardiſe, being in their hands weare tyed, abuſed, ſmitten, and burned as if they weare taken by force, ffor thoſe barbarous weare revenged on their boanes as any was wounded or killed in the battaille.

In this great extremity our ſmall company of one and twenty did reſiſt 5 days againſt 800 men, and the two foremoſt dayes agst 200 w^{ch} weare ſeaven dayes together wthout intermiſſion, & the worſt was y^{t} they had no watter, as we ſaw, ffor they made a hole in y^{e} ground out of w^{ch} they gott but litle becauſe they weare on a hill. It was to be pitied. There was not a tree but was ſhot wth buletts. The Iroquoits come wth bucklers to make a breach. The ffrench putt fire to a barill of powder, thinking to ſhoake the Iroquoits or make him goe back; but did to their great prejudice, for it fell againe in their fort, w^{ch} made an end of their combat. Uppon this the Ennemy enters, kills and ſlains all y^{t} he finds, ſo one did not make an eſcape, ſaveing one that was found alive; but he ſtayed not long, for in a ſhort time after his fortune was as y^{e} reſt; for as he was brought to one of the Forts of the Irokoits, as he was bid to ſit down he finds a Piſtolet by him, and takes it at adventure, not knowing whether it was charged or no. He puts the end to y^{e} breaſt of him that tyed him, and killd him in y^{e} preſence of all his camerades; but without any more adoe he was burnt very cruelly. All the French though dead were tyed to poſts along the River ſide, and y^{e} 4 Algonquins. As for y^{e} hurons they were burnt at their diſcretion. Some nevertheleſſe eſcaped to bring the certain newes how all paſſed.[67] It was a terrible ſpectacle to us, for wee came there 8 dayes after that defeat, which ſaved us without doubt. I beleeve for certain that yͤ Iroqoits loſt many men, having to doe with ſuch brave and valiant ſouldiers as that company was. Wee viſited that place and there was a fine Fort; three were about yͤ other two.

Wee went down yͤ river without making any carriage, and wee adventured very much. As ſoon as wee were at the lower end many of our wildmen had a mind to goe back and not to goe any further, thinking really that all the French were killed. As for my Brother and I, wee did fear very much that after ſuch a thing the pride of the enemy would make them attempt anything upon the habitations of mount Royall, which is but 30 leagues from thence. Wee did adviſe them to make a ffort, or to put us in one of the enemies', and to ſend immediately two very light boats, that could not be overtaken if the enemy ſhould diſcover them; and that being arrived at yͤ habitation, they ſhould make them ſhoot the peeces of Ordnance, and that as ſoon as the night ſhould come wee would embarque our ſelves and ſhould hear the noiſe, or elſe wee ſhould take councell of what wee ſhould doe, and ſtay for them at the height of the Iſle of mount Royall; w^{ch} was done accordingly without any hazard, for all the enemies were gone diſpairing of our comeing down, and for what they had done and for what they had loſt, which by yͤ report of ſome Hurons was more then four ſcore men; and if the French had had a Fort flanke & ſome water they had reſiſted yͤ enemy miraculouſly and forced them to leave them for want of powder and ſhott and alſo of other proviſions. They were furniſhed for y^e^ whole ſummer. Our two boats did goe, but y^e^ reſt were ſoe impatient that they reſolved to follow them, being willing to run the ſame hazard; and wee arrived the next morning and were in ſight when y^e^ peeces were ſhott off, with a great deale of Joy to ſee ſo great a number of boats that did almoſt cover y^e^ whole River.

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[67] Frenchmen maſſacred at Long Sault. See Introduction.

Wee ſtayd 3 dayes at mont-Royall, and then wee went down to y^e^ three Rivers. The wildmen did aſke our advice whether it was beſt for them to goe down further. We told them no, becauſe of the dangers that they may meet with at their returne, for the Irokoits could have notice of their comeing down, and ſo come and lay in ambuſh for them, and it was in the latter ſeaſon, being about y^e^ end of Auguſt. Well, as ſoon as their buſineſſe was done, they went back again very well ſatisfyed and wee very ill ſatisfied for our reception, which was very bad conſidering the ſervice wee had done to y^e^ countrey, which will at another time diſcourage thoſe that by our example would be willing to venture their lives for y^e^ benefit of the countrey, ſeeing a Governor y^t^ would grow rich by the labours and hazards of others.

Before I goe further I have a mind to let you know the fabulous beleaſe of thoſe poore People, that you may ſee their ignorance concerning y^e^ ſoul's immortality, being ſeparated from the body. The kindred and the friends of the deceaſed give notice to y^e^ others, who gather together and cry for y^e^ dead, which gives warning to y^e^ young men to take y^e^ armes to give ſome aſſiſtance and conſolation to y^e^ deceaſed. Preſently the corps is covered with white ſkins very well tyed. Afterwards all the kindred come to y^e^ cottage of y^e^ deceaſed and begin to mourn and lament. After they are weary of making ſuch muſick the huſbands or Friends of the deceaſed ſend their wives for gifts to pacifie a little y^e^ Widdow and to dry her tears. Thoſe guifts are of ſkins and of what they can get, for at ſuch a ceremony they are very liberall. As ſoon as that is done and y^e^ night comes, all the young men are deſired to come and doe what they will to have done to them. So that when darkneſſe has covered the whole face of the Earth they come all ſinging w^th^ ſtaves in their hands for their armes, and after they are ſet round y^e^ cabbin, begin to knock and make ſuch a noiſe that one would thinke they have a mind to tear all in peeces, and that they are poſſeſſed of ſome Devills. All this is done to expell and frighten y^e^ ſoule out of that poor and miſerable body that ſhe might not trouble his carcaſe nor his bones, and to make it depart the ſooner to goe and ſee their Anceſtors, and to take poſſeſſion of their immortall glory, which cannot be obtained but a fortnight towards y^e^ ſetting of y^e^ ſun. The firſt ſtep that ſhe makes is of ſeven dayes, to begin her courſe, but there are many difficulties, ffor it is through a very thick wood full of thorns, of ſtones and flints, which [brings] great trouble to that poor ſoule. At laſt having overcome all thoſe dangers and toyles ſhe comes to a River of about a Quarter of a mile broad where there is a bridge made onely of one planke, being ſupported by a beame pointed at one end, which is y^e^ reaſon that planke riſes and falls perpetually, having not any reſt nor ſtay, and when the ſoule comes near y^e^ ſide of that river, ſhe meets with a man of extraordinary ſtature, who is very leane and holds a dagger of very hard wood and very keen in his hands, and ſpeakes theſe words when he ſees the petitioning ſoule come near: ***Pale, pale***, which ſignifies, Goe, goe; and at every word yᵉ bridge ballances, and riſes his knife, and yᵉ traveller offering himſelfe, receives a blow by which he is cut in two, and each halfe is found upon that moving, and according as he had lived they ſtay upon it; that is, if his body was valiant the paſſage was ſoon made free to him, for yᵉ two halfes come together and joyn themſelves again. So paſſe to yᵉ other ſide where ſhe finds a bladder of bear's greaſe to greaſe herſelfe and refreſh herſelfe for that which ſhe is to do, which being done ſhe finds a wood ſomewhat cleerer and a ſtreight road that ſhe muſt goe, and for 5 dayes neither goe to yᵉ right nor to yᵉ left hand, where at laſt being arrived ſhe finds a very great and cleer fire, through which ſhe muſt reſolve to paſſe. That fire is kindled by the young men that dyed ſince yᵉ beginning of yᵉ world to know whether thoſe that come have loved yᵉ women or have been good huntſmen; and if that ſoule has not had any of thoſe rare Vertues ſhe burnes and broiles the ſole of her feet by going through the fire; but quite contrary if ſhe has had them qualityes, ſhe paſſes through without burning her ſelfe in yᵉ leaſt, and from that ſo hot place ſhe finds greaſe and paint of all ſorts of colour with which ſhe daubs and makes herſelfe beautifull, to come to that place ſo wiſhed for. But ſhe has not yet all done, nor made an end of her voyage; being ſo dreſſ'd ſhe continues her courſe ſtill towards yᵉ ſame pole for yᵉ ſpace of two dayes in a very cleer wood, and where there is very high and tall trees of which moſt be oakes, which is the reaſon that there is great ſtore of bears. All along that way they do nothing elſe but ſee their enemies layd all along upon the ground, that ſing their fatall ſong for having been vanquiſhed in this world and alſo in y^e other, not daring to be ſo bold as to kill one of thoſe animalls, and feed onely upon y^e down of theſe beaſts. Being arrived, if I may ſay, at y^e doore of that imaginarie paradiſe, they find a company of their anceſtors long ſince deceaſed, by whom they are received with a great deale of ceremony, and are brought by ſo venerable a company within halfe a daye's journey of y^e place of y^e meeting, and all along y^e reſt of the way they diſcourſe of things of this world that are paſſd; for you muſt know they travell halfe a day without ſpeaking one word, but keepe a very deep ſilence, for, ſaid they, it is like y^e Goſlings to confound one another wth words. As ſoon as they are arrived they muſt have a time to come to themſelves, to think well upon what they are to ſpeak without any precipitation, but with Judgement, ſo that they are come where all manner of company with drumms & dryd bumpkins, full of ſtones and other ſuch inſtruments. The elders that have brought her there cover her with a very large white ſkin, and colour her leggs with vermillion and her feet likewiſe, and ſo ſhe is received amongſt y^e Predeſtinates. There is a deep ſilence made as ſoon as ſhe is come in, and then one of the elders makes a long ſpeech to encourage y^e young people to go a hunting to kill ſome meat to make a feaſt for entertainment of y^e ſoul of their countryman, which is put in execution with a great deal of diligence and haſt; and while the meat is boyling or roaſting, and that there is great preparations made for y^e feaſt, the young maidens ſet out themſelves with the richeſt Jewells and preſent y^e beeſome to y^e new-comer. A little while after y^e kettles are filled, there is feaſting every where, comedies acted, and whatſoever is rare is there to be ſeene; there is dancing every where. Now remaines nothing but to provide that poor ſoule of a companion, which ſhe does preſently, for ſhe has y^e choice of very beautifull women, and may take as many as ſhe pleaſes, which makes her felicity immortall.

By this you may ſee the ſilly beleefe of theſe poor People. I have ſeen right-minded Jeſuites weep bitterly hearing me ſpeake of ſo many Nations that periſh for want of Inſtruction; but moſt of them are like y^e wildmen, that thinke they offend if they reſerve any thing for y^e next day. I have ſeen alſo ſome of the ſame company ſay, "Alas, what pity 't is to looſe ſo many Caſtors. Is there no way to goe there? The fiſh and y^e ſauce invite us to it; is there no meanes to catch it? Oh, how happy ſhould I be to go in thoſe countreys as an Envoye, being it is ſo good a countrey." That is y^e relation that was made me ſeverall times by thoſe wildmen, for I thought they would never have done. But let us come to our arrivall againe.

The Governour, ſeeing us come back with a conſiderable ſumme for our own particular, and ſeeing that his time was expired and that he was to goe away, made uſe of that excuſe to doe us wrong & to enrich himſelfe with the goods that wee had ſo dearly bought, and by our meanes wee made the country to ſubſiſt, that without us had beene, I beleeve, oftentimes quite undone and ruined, and y^e better to ſay at his laſt beeding, no caſtors, no ſhip, & what to doe without neceſſary commodities. He made alſo my brother priſoner for not having obſerved his orders, and to be gone without his leave, although one of his letters made him bluſh for ſhame, not knowing what to ſay, but that he would have ſome of them at what price ſoever, that he might yᵉ better maintain his coach & horſes at Paris. He fines us four thouſand pounds to make a Fort at yᵉ three Rivers, telling us for all manner of ſatisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of armes upon it, and moreover 6,000 pounds for the country, ſaying that wee ſhould not take it ſo ſtrangely and ſo bad, being wee were inhabitants and did intend to finiſh our days in yᵉ ſame country with our Relations and Friends. But the Bougre did greaſe his chopps with it, and more, made us pay a cuſtome which was yᵉ 4ᵗʰ part, which came to 14,000 pounds, ſo that wee had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away £24,000. Was not he a Tyrant to deal ſo with us, after wee had ſo hazarded our lives, & having brought in leſſe then 2 years by that voyage, as yᵉ Factors of yᵉ ſaid country ſaid, between 40 and 50,000 piſtolls? For they ſpoke to me in this manner: "In which country have you been? From whence doe you come? For wee never ſaw yᵉ like. From whence did come ſuch excellent caſtors? Since your arrivall is come into our magazin very near 600,000 pounds Tournois of that filthy merchandiſe, which will be prized like gold in France." And them were the very words that they ſaid to me.

Seeing ourſelves ſo wronged, my brother did reſolve to goe and demand Juſtice in France. It had been better for him to have been contented with his loſſes without going and ſpend yᵉ reſt in halfe a year's time in France, having £10,000 that he left with his wife, that was as good a Houſwife as he. There he is in France; he is paid with fair words and with promiſe to make him goe back from whence

he

he came; but he ſeeing no aſſurance of it, did engage himſelfe with a merchant of Rochell, who was to ſend him a Ship the next ſpring. In that hope he comes away in a fiſher boat to y^e pierced Iſland, ſome 20 leagues off from y^e Iſle d'eluticoſty,[58] the place where the ſhip was to come; that was to come whilſt he was going in a ſhallop to Quebucq, where I was to goe away with him to y^e rendezvous, being he could not do anything without me; but with a great deel of difficulty it proved, ſo that I thought it poſſible to goe taſt of y^e pleaſures of France, and by a ſmall veſſell that I might not be idle during his abſence. He preſently told me what he had done, and what wee ſhould doe. Wee embarked, being nine of us. In a few dayes wee came to y^e pierced Iſland, where wee found ſeverall ſhipps newly arrived; & in one of them wee found a father Jeſuit that told us that wee ſhould not find what wee thought to find, and that he had put a good order, and that it was not well done to diſtroy in that manner a Country, and to wrong ſo many Inhabitants. He adviſed me to leave my Brother, telling me that his deſigns were pernicious. Wee ſee ourſelves fruſtrated of our hopes. My Brother told me that wee had ſtore of merchandize that would bring much profit to y^e french habitations that are in y^e Cadis. I, who was deſirous of nothing but new things, made no ſcruple.

Wee arrived at S^t Peter, in y^e Iſle of Cape Breton, at y^e habitation of Monſ^r Denier, where wee delivered ſome merchandizes for ſome Originack ſkins; from thence to Camſeau, where every day wee were threatned to be burned by the french; but God be thanked, wee eſcaped from their hands by avoiding a ſurprize. And in that place my Brother told me of his deſigne to come and ſee new England, which our ſervants heard, and grumbled and laboured underhand againſt us, for which our lives were in very great danger. Wee ſent ſome of them away, and at laſt with much labour & danger wee came to Port Royall, which is inhabited by yͤ french under yͤ Engliſh Government, where ſome few dayes after came ſome Engliſh ſhipps that brought about our deſignes, where being come wee did declare our deſignes. Wee were entertained, and wee had a ſhip promiſſed us, and yͤ Articles drawn, and wee did put to ſea the next ſpring for our diſcovery, and wee went to yͤ entry of Hudſon's ſtreight by yͤ 61 degree. Wee had knowledge and converſation with yͤ people of thoſe parts, but wee did ſee and know that there was nothing to be done unleſſe wee went further, and the ſeaſon of the yeare was far ſpent by yͤ indiſcretion of our maſter, that onely were accuſtomed to ſee ſome Barbadoes Sugers, and not mountaines of ſuger candy, which did frighten him, yͭ he would goe no further, complaining that he was furniſhed but for 4 months, & that he had neither Sailes, nor Cord, nor Pitch, nor Towe, to ſtay out a winter. Seeing well that it was too late, he would goe no further, ſo brought us back to yͤ place from whence wee came, where wee were welcome, although with great loſſe of goods & hope, but yͤ laſt was not quite loſt. Wee were promiſſed 2 ſhipps for a ſecond voyage. They were made fit and ready, and being yͤ ſeaſon of yͤ yeare was not yet come to be gone, one of them 2 ſhipps was ſent to yͤ Iſle of Sand, there to fiſh for yͤ ye Baſſe[59] to make Oyle of it, where wee came in very bad weather, and the ſhip was loſt in that Iſland, but ye men were ſaved. The expectation of that ſhip made us looſe our 2nd voyage, which did very much diſcourage the merchants with whom wee had to doe. They went to law with us to make us recant the bargaine that wee had made with them. After wee had diſputed a long time it was found that the right was on our ſide, and wee innocent of what they did accuſe us. So they endeavoured to come to an agreement, but wee were betrayed by our own Party. In ye meantime ye Commiſſioners of the King of Great Brittain arrived in that place, and one of them would have us goe with him to New Yorke, and ye other adviſed us to come to England and offer our ſelves to ye King, which wee did. Thoſe of new England in generall made profers unto us of what ſhip wee would if wee would goe on in our Deſignes; but wee anſwered them that a ſcalded cat fears ye water though it be cold.

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[58] *Eluticoſty*, Anticoſti, an iſland at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

Wee are now in ye paſſage, and he yt brought us, which was one of the Commiſſioners called Collonell George Carteret, was taken by ye Hollanders, and wee arrived in England in a very bad time for ye Plague and ye warrs. Being at Oxford, wee went to Sir George Carteret, who ſpoke to his Majeſtie, who gave us good hopes that wee ſhould have a ſhip ready for ye next ſpring, and yt ye king did allow us 40 ſhillings a week for our maintenance, and wee had chambers in ye Town by his order, where wee ſtayed 3 months.

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[59] This fiſhing expedition was to the well-known Sable Iſland. In 1676 "The King granted Médard Chouart, Sieur des Grozelliers, and Pierre Eſprit, Sieur des Radiſſon, the privilege of eſtabliſhing fiſheries for white porpoiſes and ſeal in the river St. Lawrence in New France."

Afterwards yᵉ King came to London and ſent us to Windſor, where wee ſtayed the reſt of yᵉ winter. Wee are ſent for from that place, yᵉ ſeaſon growing neare, and put into yᵉ hands of Sir Peter Colleton. The ſhip was got ready ſomething too late, and our maſter was not fit for ſuch a Deſigne. But yᵉ Hollanders being come to yᵉ River of Thames had ſtopp'd yᵉ paſſage, ſoe wee loſt that opportunity. So wee were put off till yᵉ next yeare, & a little while after that ſame ſhip was ſent to Virginia and other places to know ſome news of yᵉ Barbadoes, and to be informed if that Iſland was not in danger; which if it had been loſt, had taken from yᵉ Engliſh Ladyes yᵉ meanes or yᵉ pleaſure of drinking french wine. Thoſe of Burdeaux & of Rochell were great looſers in yᵉ expectation of yᵗ ſhip, yᵗ was not gone to yᵉ Iſle of Sand, but to Holland. Wee loſt our ſecond voyage, for yᵉ order was given to late for yᵉ fitting another ſhip, which coſt a great deale of money to noe purpoſe. The third yeare wee went out with a new company in 2 ſmall veſſells, my Brother in one & I in another, & wee went together 400 leagues from yᵉ North of Ireland, where a ſudden great ſtorme did riſe & put us aſunder. The ſea was ſoe furious 6 or 7 houres after that it did almoſt overturne our ſhip, ſo that wee were forced to cut our maſts rather then cutt our lives; but wee came back ſafe, God be thanked, and yᵉ other, I hope, is gone on his voyage, God be with him. I hope to embarke myſelfe by yᵉ helpe of God this fourth yeare, & I beſeech him to grant me better ſucceſſe then I have had hitherto, & beſeech him to give me Grace & to make me partaker of that everlaſting happineſſe which is yᵉ onely thing a man ought to look after.

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I have here put y^e names of ſeverall Nations amongſt which I have been for y^e moſt part, which I think may extend to ſome 900 leagues by y^e reckoning of my Travells.

The names of the Nations that live in the South: —

Avieronons.
Aviottronons.
Anontackeronons.
Sonontueronons.
Oyongoironons.
Andaſtoueronons.
Konkhaderichonons.
Andonanchronons.
Kionontateronons.
Ouendack.
Khionontateronons.
Ohcrokonanechronons.
Ahondironons.
Ougmarahronoms.
Akrahkuaeronoms.
Oneronoms.
Ereſſaronoms.
Attionendarouks.
Ehriehronoms.
Tontataratonhronoms.
Ariotachronoms.
Oſcovarahronoms.
Huattochronoms.
Skinchiohronoms.
Attitachronons.
Ontorahronons.
Aoveatſiovaenhronons.
Attochingochronons.
Maingonis.
Socoquis.
Pacoiquis.

All theſe Nations are ſedentaries, and live upon corn and other grains, by hunting and fiſhing, which is plentifull, and by y^e ragouts of roots. There were many deſtroyed by y^e Iroquoits, and I have ſeen moſt of thoſe that are left.

The names of the Nations that live in the North: —

Chiſedeck.
Berſiamites.
Sagſeggons.
Attikamegues.
Ovaouchkairing or Algonquins.
Kiſcheripirini.
Miniſigons.
Kotakoaveteny.
Kinoncheripirini.
Matouchkarini.
Ountchatarounongha.
Sagahigavirini.
Sagnitaovigama.
Nipiſiriniens.
Tiviſeimi.
Outimagami.
Ouachegami.
Mitchitamon.
Orturbi.
Ovaſovarin.
Atcheligonens.
Annikouay.
Otanack.
Ounciſagay.
Abaouicktigonions.
Roquay.
Mantonech.
Piſſings.
Malhonniners.
Aſinipour.
Trinivoick.
Naſaonakouetons.
Pontonatemick.
Eſcouteck.
Panoeſtigons.
Nadoucenako.
Titaſcons.
Chriſtinos.
Nadouceronons.
Quinipigouſek.
Tatanga.

The two laſt are ſedentary and doe reap, and all yᵉ reſt are wandering people, that live by their hunting and Fiſhing, and ſome few of Rice that they doe labour for, and a great many of them have been deſtroyed by the Iroquoites. Beſides all yᵉ above-named Nations I have ſeen eight or nine more ſince my voyages.

VOYAGES
OF
PETER ESPRIT RADISSON.

The Relation of a Voyage made by Peter Raddiſſon, Eſq^r, to the North parts of America, in the years 1682 *and* 1683.

IN the firſt place, I think myſelf oblidg'd to vindicat myſelf from the imputation of inconſtancy for acting in this voyage againſt the Engliſh Intreſt, and in the yeare 1683 againſt the French Intreſt, for which, if I could not give a very good account, I might juſtly lye under the ſentenc of capritiouſneſs & inconſtancy. But ſeverall Perſons of probity and good repute, being ſenſible what my brother-in-Law, M^r Chouard Des Groiſiliers, and myſelf performed in ſeverall voyadges for the Gentlemen conſerned in the Hudſon's Bay Trade, relating to the Comers of Bever ſkins, and the juſt cauſe of diſſattisfaction which both of us had, to make us retire into France. I have no cauſe to believe that I in the leaſt deſerve to bee taxed with lightneſs or inconſtancy for the Imployments wherein I ſince ingaged, although they were againſt the Intereſts of the ſaid Company, for it is ſuffitiently known that my Brother nor myſelf omitted nothing that lay in our power, having both of us ſeverall times adventur'd our lives, and did all that was poſſible for Perſons of courage and Honour to perform for the advantage and profit of the ſaid Company, ever ſince the yeare 1665 unto the yeare 1674. But finding that all our adviſe was ſlighted and rejected, and the Councill of other perſons imbrac'd and made uſe of, which manifeſtly tended to the ruin of the ſetlement of the Beaver Trade, & that on all occaſions wee were look'd upon as uſeleſs perſons, that deſerved neither reward nor incouragement, this unkinde uſage made us at laſt take a reſolution, though with very great reluctancy, to return back into France; for in the maine it is well knowne that I have a greater inclination for the Intereſt of England than for that of ffrance, being marry'd at London unto an Hon^{ble} familly,[60] whos alliance had alſo the deeper ingadged me in the Intreſt of the Nation. Morover, all my friends know the tender love I had for my wife, and that I declared unto them how much I was troubled in being reduced to the neceſſity of leaving her. I hope thes conſiderations will vindicate my proceedings touching the ſeverall Intereſts which I eſpouſ'd, and what I ſhall relate in this enſuing Narrative touching my proceedings in regard of the Engliſh in this voyadge in the River, and alſo in Nelſon's harbour in the year 1683, and will juſtify me againſt what has ben reported to my prejudice to render me Odious unto the nation. For it will appeare that having had the good fortune to defend my ſetlment againſt thoſe which at that time I look'd upon as my Ennemy's, & defeated them by fruſtrating their deſignes, I improv'd the advantage I had over them the beſt I could; yet would they do me right, they muſt own that they had more juſt cauſe to give me thanks than to complaine of me, having ever uſed them kindly as long as they pleaſ'd to live with me. I freely confeſs I uſed all the ſkill I could to compaſs my deſignes, & knowing very well what theſe Gentlemen intended againſt me, I thought it better to ſurpriſe them than that they ſhould me; knowing that if they had ben afore hand with me, I ſhould have paſſed my time wors with them than they did with me. I come now to diſcours of my voyadge, not thinking it materiall heere to mention the campaign I made in the french fleet, ſince I left England, in the Expeditions for Guinea, Tobaga,[61] and other occaſions wherein I was concern'd before I ingadged in this voyadge.

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[60] He married, between 1666 and 1673, for his ſecond wife, the daughter of Sir John Kirke. He was one of the original founders of the Hudſon's Bay Company, having ſubſcribed £300 to the common ſtock in 1670. He was one of the ſeven members on the Committee of management for the Company, and was no doubt inſtrumental in ſecuring to Radiſſon a permanent penſion of 1,200 livres a year, after he left the ſervice of France. In all probability, Radiſſon emigrated to Canada with his family in 1694, for in that year his ſon's name thus appears as holding a land patent: "1695. Another patent of confirmation to 'Sieur Etienne Volant Radiſſon' of the conceſſion made to him the 19th of October, 1694, of the iſles, iſlets, and 'baſtures' not granted, that are to be found acroſs Lake S^t Peter, above the iſlands granted to the 'Sieur Sorel,' from the edge of the north channel, as far as the great middle channel, called the channel of Platte Iſland," etc., etc. As Peter Radiſſon's will can nowhere be found at Somerſet Houſe, London, he probably died in Canada.

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[61] This expedition was commanded by Jean, Count d'Eſtrées. He reduced the Iſland of Tobaga. He was made a Marſhal of France, and ſent out, 1 Auguſt, 1687, as Viceroy over America.

At the time my Brother-in-Law and I were diſſattisfy'd with the Hudſon's Bay Company, wee were ſeverall times invited by the late Monſieur Colbert to return back for france, with large promiſes that wee ſhould bee very kindly entertain'd. Wee refuſed a great while all the offers that were made us; but ſeeing our buſineſſe went wors and wors with the company, without any likelyhood of finding any better uſage, at laſt wee accepted the offer that was made unto us, of paying us 400 Lewi-Dors redy money, of diſcharging all our Debts, and to give us good Employments. Theſe conditions being agreed upon, wee paſſed over into france in Xber, 1674.

As ſoon as wee got to Paris wee waited upon monſ^r Colbert. Hee reproached us for preferring the Engliſh Intereſt before that of ffrance; but having heard our defence, and obſerv'd by what wee ſaid unto him of our diſcoverys in the Northern parts of America, and of the acquaintance wee had with the Natives, how fit wee might bee for his purpos, hee ſoon aſſur'd us of his favor & protection, & alſo of the King's pardon for what was paſt, with an intire reſtoration unto the ſame ſtate wee were in before wee left france, upon condition that wee ſhould employ our care & induſtry for the advancement & increas of the comers of the Beaver Trade in the french Collonies in Canada. Hee alſo confirmed the promis had ben made us at London, of the gratuity of 400 french Piſtolls, that all our Debts ſhould bee diſcharg'd, & that wee ſhould bee put into Employments. Our Letters Pattents of pardon & reſtoration were forthwith diſpatch't, & mon^r Colbert would have it expreſſly mention'd in them, for what caus the King granted them, viz^t, to employ the greateſt of our ſkill & induſtry with the Natives, for the utillity & advancement of the Beaver Trade in the french Collonies. The 400 peeces of Gould was pay'd us, & all things elſe promiſed was perform'd, excepting only the Employment, for the which wee were made to attend a great while, and all to no purpos.

But at laſt I perceaved the cauſe of this delay, & that my marrying in England made me bee ſuſpected, becauſe my wiſe remained there. Monſ^r Colbert having delayed us a long time with ſundry Excuſes, one day hee explained himſelf, ſaying I ſhould bring my wiſe over into france if I expected that a full confidence ſhould bee put in mee. I repreſented unto him that it was nott a thing fully in my power to doe, my wiſe's father refuſing to give me the Liberty of bringing her over into france; but I promiſſ'd him to uſe my beſt endeavors to that effect. In the meantime Monſ^r Colbert intimated that hee would have my Brother-in-Law & myſelf make a voyadge unto Canada, to adviſe with the Governour what was beſt ther to bee done, aſſuring us that hee would write unto him in our behalf.

Wee undertook the voyadge, but being arriv'd at Quebeck, wee found that jeloſy & intereſt which ſome Perſons had over thoſe that had the abſolute command, at that time, of the Trade in Canada, & whos Creatures were Imploy'd for new Diſcoverys, ordered things ſo that the Count De Frontinac, the Governor, took no care to perform what wee had ben promiſ'd hee ſhould have don for us; ſo that finding myſelf ſlighted, I left my Brother-in-Law with his familly in Canada, & returned back again for France, intending to ſerve at ſea in the fleet. Accordingly I there paſſed the Campaigns above mention'd untill wee ſuffer'd ſhippwreck at the Iſle D'ane, from which being eſcaped, I returned with the reſt of the Army unto Breſt, in the moneth of July, having loſt all my Equipage in this diſaſter. The Vice Admirall & the Intendant wrote to Court in my favour, & upon the good character they were pleaſ'd to give of me, I receav'd a gratuity of 100 Louis D'ors upon the King's account, to renew my Equipage; & theſe Gentlemen alſo were pleaſed to tell me I ſhould ere long have the command of a Man of Warr; but thinking that could not ſo eaſily bee, I deſired leave to make a turn over into England under pretext of viſitting my wife & to make a farther Tryall of bringing her over into france, whereupon I had my paſs granted, with a farther gratuity of 100 Louis D'ors towards the charges of my voyage. I was comanded to make what diſpatch poſſible might bee, & eſpetially to mind the buſineſs of bringing my wife along with me, & then I ſhold not doubt of having good Imployments.

I ſet forwards, & arrived in London the 4th of July, & amongſt other diſcours told my father-in-Law, Sir John Kirk, of what great importance it was unto me of making my fortune in france to take my wife along with me thither; notwithſtanding, hee would by no means give his conſent thereunto, but deſired me to write to my friends in France concerning ſome pretention hee had againſt the Inhabitants of Canada,[ee] which I did. I endeavor'd alſo, during my ſtay at London, both by myſelf & by Friends, to try if the

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[ee] John Kirke and his elder brothers, Sir David, Sir Lewis, and others, held a large claim againſt Canada, or rather France, dating back to 1633, which amounted in 1654, including principal and intereſt, to over £34,000.

Gentlemen of the Company might conceave any better thoughts of me, & whether I might not by ſome means or other be reſtor'd unto their good liking; but all my endevors proved in vaine. I found no likelyhood of effecting what I ſo much deſir'd, therefore I return'd into France & arrived at Breſt the 12th of 8ber, 1679. . . . Having inform'd the Vice Admirall & the Intendant of the litle ſucceſſe I had in my voyadge, & that it was not through any neglect of myne, they order'd me to goe give an Account of it unto the Marquis De Signelay, which I did; & telling him I could not prevaile to bring my wife over along with me, hee revil'd me, & told me hee knew very well what an Inclination I had ſtill for the Engliſh Intreſt, ſaying with all that I muſt not expect any confidence ſhould bee put in me, nor that I ſhold not have the leaſt Imployment, whilſt my wife ſtay'd in England.

Nevertheleſſe, hee promiſ'd to ſpeak to his Father, Monſr Colbert, touching my affaires, which hee alſo performed; & afterwards waiting upon him, hee ſpake unto me much after the ſame rate his ſonn, the Marquis De Signelay had don before, as to what concerned my wife, & order'd me to goe unto monſr Bellinzany, his chief agent for the buſineſſe of Trade, who would farther inform me of his intentions. Meeting with Monſr Belinzany, hee told me that monſr Colbert thought it neceſſary that I ſhould conferr with monſr De La Cheſnay,[illegible] a Canada Merchant who mannadg'd all the Trade of thos parts, & who was then at Paris, that

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[illegible] M. Du Cheſneau was appointed 30 May, 1675, Intendant of Juſtice, Police, and Finance of Canada, Acadia, and Iſles of Newfoundland.

that with him ſome meſures ſhould bee taken to make the beſt advantage of our Diſcoveries & intreagues in the Northern parts of Canada, to advance the Beaver Trade, & as much as poſſible might bee to hinder all ſtrangers from driving that trade to the prejudice of the French Collonies. The ſaid monſʳ Belinzany alſo told me I could not more oblige monſʳ Colbert, nor take any better cours to obtaine his friendſhip by any ſervis whatſoever, than by uſing all my ſkill & induſtry in drawing all the natives of thos Northern parts of America to traffick with & to favor the French, & to hinder & diſſwade them from trading with ſtrangers, aſſuring me of a great reward for the ſervis I ſhould render the ſtate upon this account, & that Mʳ De La Cheſnay would furniſh me in Cannada with all things neceſſary for executing what deſſignes wee ſhould conclude upon together to this intent.

According to theſe Inſtructions I went unto mʳ De La Cheſnay. Wee diſcourſ'd a long time together, & after ſeverall inquiry's of the ſtate of the countrys that I had moſt frequented, having communicated unto him my obſervations, hee propoſ'd unto me to undertake to eſtabliſh a treaty for the Beaver trade in the Great Bay where I had ben ſome years before upon the account of the Engliſh. Wee ſpent two Dayes in adjuſting the means of ſetling this buſineſs; at laſt it was agreed that I ſhould make a voyadge into England to endevor to perſwade my wife to come away, & alſo at the ſame time to inform myſelf what ſhipps the Hudſon Bay Company intended to fit out for thoſe parts. I performed this ſecond voyage for England with ſome remainder of hopes to find the Gentlemen of the Company ſomething better inclin'd towards me than they had ben formerly; but whether they then looked upon me as wholy unneccceſſary for their purpos, or as one that was altogether unable to doe them any harm, I was ſufferr'd to come away without receaving the leaſt token of kindneſſe. All the ſatisfaction I had in the voyadge was that Prince Rupert was pleaſ'd to tell me that hee was very ſorry my offers of ſervis was ſo much ſlighted.

I reſolv'd with myſelf not to bee dejected at this coldneſſe, & returned into france, thinking there to have found Monſr De La Cheſnay; but being come to Paris, I heard hee was gon, & I preſently reſolved to follow him to Canada, to execute what wee had concluded upon at Paris. I went to take my leave of monſr Colbert, acquainting him of my deſſigne, whereof hee approved very well. Hee wiſhed me a good voyadge, adviſing me to be carefull. I went to viſit the Society of the Jeſuits at Paris, as being alſo concern'd with La Cheſnay in the Beaver Trade. They gave mee ſome money for my voyadge. I went & took ſhipp at Rochell, & arrived at Quebeck the 25th of 7ber, 1682. As ſoon as I went aſhore I ſpake with monſr La Cheſnay, who ſeem'd to bee very glad to ſee me, and after ſome diſcours of what wee had concluded upon at Paris, hee ſaid the buſineſſe muſt bee preſently ſet about; & being privy unto the Court Intrigues, & fully acquainted with the meſures wee were to uſe in this enterprize, hee took me along with him unto the Governor's houſe, & ingadg'd me to demand his aſſiſtance & ſuch orders as wee ſhould ſtand in need of from him for the carrying on our Deſſigne. But the Governor ſpake unto us in a way as if hee approved not of the buſineſſe; whereupon La Cheſnay demanded a Paſs for me to return back unto Europ by the way of New England, in a veſſell belonging to the Governor of Accadia, which was at that inſtant at Quebeck, & redy to ſaile in ſom ſhort time.

Theſe formalitys being over, Monſ^r La Cheſnay & I ſpake home to the buſineſſe. Wee agreed upon the voyage, & of all things that were to bee ſetled relative unto our concerns & Intreſt. Hee undertook to buy the Goods, & to furniſh all things that concern'd the Treaty; to furniſh me with a veſſell well fitted & ſtored with good proviſions. It was agreed that I ſhould have one fourth part of the Beaver for my care and paines, & the danger I expoſ'd myſelf unto in making the ſetlment. My Brother-in-Law, Deſgroiſilliers, who was then at Quebeck, made a contract with De La Cheſnay for the ſame voyage allmoſt on the ſame terms as I had don. All things being thus concluded, the Governor was deſired that I might have leave to take three men along with me. Hee knew very well to what intent, but hee pretended to bee ignorant of it, for 't is unlikely that hee could think I would return back to france without doing ſomething about what La Cheſnay & I had mention'd unto him, ſeeing I demanded theſe three men to goe along with me. One was my kinſman, John Baptiſta Des Groſiliers, of whom I made great account, having frequented the country all his life, & had contracted great familliarity & acquaintance with the natives about trade. Hee laid out £500 Tournais of his own money in the voyadge & charge, diſburſed by monſ^r De La Cheſnay in the Enterprize. The ſecond was Peter Allmand, whom I took for my Pilot, & the 3^

3d was John Baptiſta Godfry, who underſtood perfectly well the Languadge of the natives, & one that I knew was capable of Treating. I ſet ſaile from Quebeck the 4th of 9ber, 1682, with my 3 men, in the Governor of Accady's veſſell, having my orders to bee redy the ſpring following, at the L'iſle perſé, hallow Iſle, at the entrance of the River St Lawrence, unto which place La Cheſnay was to ſend me a veſſell well Equipp'd & fitted according to agreement for Executing the deſſigne. Hee alſo promiſ'd to ſend mee fuller Inſtructions in writing, for my directions when I ſhould bee on the place.

Wee arrived at Accadia the 26th of november, 1682, and there winter'd. In the ſpring I repair'd unto hallow Iſland. The veſſell I expected arrived, but proved not ſo good as was promiſed, for it was only an old Barque of about 50 Tunns with an Equippage but of 12 men, thos with me being compriſed in the number. There was goods enough on board to have carry'd on the Treaty, but Proviſions were ſcant, ſo that had I not ben ſo deeply ingadg'd as I was in the buſineſſe, ſuch a kind of a veſſell would have quite diſcouradg'd me. But the arrivall of my Brother-in-Law, Deſgroſiliers, in a veſſell of about 30 Tunns, with a crew of 15 men, incouradg'd me, ſo that wee joyntly reſolved not to quit our Enterprize; but wee had much adoe to perſwade our men to it, being unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the danger of a voyadge of 900 Leagues in ſuch ſmall, ordinary veſſells, & in ſuch boiſterous ſeas, where ther was alſo danger of Ice. However, they ſeeing us willing to run the ſame fortune as they did, they at length conſented, & it was agree'd upon betwixt my Brother-in-Law & myſelf to ſteere the ſame cours, & to keep as neere each other as wee could, the better to aſſiſt one another as occaſion required. Wee ſailed from the Iſland the 11th July, 1682 [1683.] After the ſpace of 19 dayes' ſailing, being paſt the Straights of new found Land, the ſeamen on board my Brother-in-Law's veſſell mutin'd againſt him, refuſing to proceed any farther, pretending they feared being ſplit with the Ice, alſo of ingadging in unknown countreys where they might be reduced to want Proviſions in the Winter. Wee pacify'd the mutineers by threatnings & by promiſes, & the ſight of a Saile in 57° 30 minutes, North Lat., upon the Coaſt of Brador, ſomwhat contributed thereunto, every one deſiring to ſhun this ſail. Wee were twixt him & the ſhoar, & they bore directly towards us, deſirous to ſpeak with us; but wee not being in a condition of making any reſiſtance, I thought it the beſt not to ſtand towards him, but ſteering the ſame cours as hee did, wee recover'd under the ſhoar, & ſo out of Danger; they tackt about & ſtood off 2 hours before night, & wee loſt ſight of them. There was much ice in thoſe ſeas, which drive to the Southwards. Wee put into Harbour to avoide the Danger of it, as alſo to take in freſh Water & ſome other Proviſions at the Coaſt of the Indians called Eſquimos, the moſt cruell of all the ſalvages when they meet an advantage to ſurprize Perſons. Nevertheleſſe, they came to our ſhipp ſide, & traded with us for ſome hundred of Woolf ſkins. Wee ſtay'd there 2 dayes, during which time there happned a nother mutiny, our men refuſing to proceed any farther; but I pacify'd the ſeditious, & having put to ſea I order'd our men to preſerve the Wood & Water wee had taken on board the beſt they could, for my Brother-in-Law & I had reſolved not to goe a ſhoare untill wee had gain'd our Port, unleſs wee were chaſed. The winds proving favorable, wee entred Hudſon's Straight and ſailed along on the Northern ſhoare; there was much Ice. Some of my ſeamen kill'd a white Beare of Extraordinary biggneſs. They eat of it to ſuch exceſs that they all fell Extremely ſick with head akes & looſneſſe, that I thought they would have dyed out. I was forc'd to give my Brother notice of this accident, & to deſire his aſſiſtance, ſo that by takeing Orvietan & ſweating they eſcaped that Danger, but all their ſkin pell'd off. Wee were inform'd by the Indians that thoſe white Bears have a Poiſon in the Liver, that diffuſes itſelf through the whole maſs of the body, which occaſions theſe diſtempers unto thos that eat of them.

I obſerv'd during this Diſorder, neer Mile Iſland, at the weſtern point, wee drove N. W. by the compaſs about 8 leagues in 6 hours, towards Cape Henry. Wee had much adoe to recover out of the Ice, & had like divers times to have perriſh'd, but God was pleaſ'd to preſerve us. My brother-in-Law, fearing to bear too much ſaile, ſtay'd behind. I arrived before him, the 26th of Auguſt, on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's Bay, & we met the 2nd of 7ber, at ye entrance of the River called *Kakivvakiona* by the Indians, which ſignificies "Let him that comes, goe." Being enter'd into this River, our firſt care was to finde a convenient place where to ſecure our veſſells, & to build us a Houſe. Wee ſailed up the River about 15 miles, & wee ſtop't at a litle Canall, whrein wee lay our veſſells, finding the place convenient to reſide at. I left my brother-in-Law buſy about building a houſe, & the next day after our arrivall I went up into the Country, to ſeek for Indians. To this purpos I went in a Canoo, with my nephew & another of my crew, being all 3 armed with firelocks & Piſtolls, & in 8 dayes wee went about 40 leagues up the River, & through woods, without meeting one Indian or ſeeing any ſigne where any had lately ben ; & finding ſeverall Trees gnawed by Beavors, wee judged there was but few Inhabitants in thoſe parts. In our travelling wee kill'd ſome Deere. But the 8th day after our departure, our canoo being drawn aſhore & overturn'd neer the water ſide, repoſing ourſelves in a ſmall Iſland, about evening an Indian purſuing a Deere eſpyed our Canoo. Thinking there were ſome of his own Nation, hee whiſtled to give notice of the Beaſt, that paſſ'd by to the litle Iſland not farr off from us. My nephew having firſt ſpyed the Indian, told me of it, not mynding the Deere. I preſently went to the water ſide & called the Indian, who was a good while before hee ſpake, & then ſaid hee underſtood me not, & preſently run away into the woods.

I was glad of meeting this Indian, & it gave me ſome hopes of ſeeing more ere long. Wee ſtood upon our gard all night. Next morning I cauſ'd our canoo to bee carry'd the other ſide of the Iſland, to have it in readyneſs to uſe in caſe of danger. I cauſed a fier to bee made a 100 paces off. In the morning wee diſcovered nyne canoos at the point of the Iſland coming towards us, & being within hearing, I demanded who they were; they return'd a friendly anſwer. I told them the cauſe of my coming into their country, & who I was. One of the eldeſt of them, armed with his lance, Bow & arrows, etc., etc., roſe up & took an arrow from his Quiver, making a ſigne from Eaſt to Weſt & from North to

South, broke it in 2 peeces, & flung it into the River, addreſſing himſelf to his companions, ſaying to this purpos: "Young men, bee not afraid; the ſun is favorable unto us. Our ennemys ſhall feare us, for this is the man that we have wiſhed for ever ſince the dayes of our fathers." After which they all ſwimed a ſhore unto me, & coming out of their canoos I invited them unto my Fier. My nephew & the other man that was with him came alſo within 10 paces of us without any feare, although they ſee the Indian well armed. I aſked them who was their Chief Commander, ſpeaking unto him unknownſt to me. Hee bowed the head, & another told me it was hee that I talked unto. Then I took him by the hand, and making him ſit downe, I ſpoke unto him according to the genius of the Indians, unto whom, if one will bee eſteemed, it is neceſſary to bragg of one's vallour, of one's ſtrength and ablneſſe to ſuccour & protect them from their Ennemyes. They muſt alſo bee made believe that one is wholy for their Intreſt & have a great compleſance for them, eſpetially in making them preſents. This amongſt them is the greateſt band of friendſhipp. I would at this firſt enterview make myſelf known. The chief of theſe ſalvages ſitting by me, I ſaid to him in his Languadge, "I know all the Earth; your friends ſhall bee my friends; & I am come hether to bring you arms to deſtroy your Ennemys. You nor your wife nor children ſhall not dye of hunger, for I have brought Merchandize. Bee of good cheere; I will bee thy ſonn, & I have brought thee a father; hee is yonder below building a fort, where I have 2 great ſhipps. You muſt give me 2 or 3 of your Canoos that your people may go viſit your father."

Hee made a long ſpeech to thank me & to aſſure me that both himſelf & all his nation would venture their Lifes in my ſervis. I gave them ſome Tobacco & Pipes, & ſeeing one of them uſed a peece of flat Iron to cut his Tobacco, I deſired to ſee that peece of Iron & flung it into the fier, wherat they all wonder'd, for at the ſame time I ſeemed to weep; & drying up my tears, I told them I was very much grieved to ſee my Brethren ſo ill provided of all things, & told them they ſhould want for nothing whilſt I was with them; & I tooke my ſword I had by my ſide & gave it unto him from whom I took the peece of Iron; alſo I cauſ'd ſome bundles of litle knives to bee brought from my canoo, which I diſtributed amongſt them. I made them ſmoke, & gave them to eate, & whilſt they were eating, I ſet forth the preſents I brought them, amongſt the reſt a fowling-peece, with ſome powder & ſhot for their chief commander. I told him, in preſenting him with it, I took him for my Father; hee in like mannor took me to bee his ſonn in covering me with his gowne. I gave him my blanket, which I deſired him to carry unto his wife as a token from me, intending ſhee ſhould bee my mother. Hee thanked me, as alſo did the reſt, to the number of 26, who in teſtimony of their gratitude caſt their garments at my feete & went to their canoos & brought all the furr ſkins they had; after which ceremonys wee parted. They promiſed before noone they would ſend me 3 of their canoos, wherein they failed not. They put my Beavors in them, & wee went towards the place where I left my Brother-in-Law. I arrived the 12th of 7ber, to the great ſatisfaction of all our people, having inform'd them the happy ſucceſs of my Journey by meeting with the Natives.

The very day I return'd from this litle Journey wee were alarm'd by the noiſe of ſome Great Gunns. The Indians that came along with us heard them, & I told them that theſe Gunns were from ſome of our ſhipps that were in the great River called Kawirinagaw, 3 or 4 leagues' diſtance from that wher wee were ſetled; but being deſirous to bee ſattisfyed what it ſhould meane, I went in a Canoo unto the mouth of our River, & ſeeing nothing, I ſuppoſ'd wee were all miſtaken, & I ſent my nephew with another french man of my crew back with the ſalvages unto the Indians; but the ſame evening they heard the Gunns ſo plaine that ther was no farther cauſe of doubt but that ther was a ſhipp; upon which they return'd back to tell me of it, wherupon I preſently went myſelf with 3 men to make the diſcovery. Having croſſed over this great River Kawirinagaw, which ſignifies the dangerous, on the 16th, in the morning, wee diſcovered a Tent upon an Iſland. I ſent one of my men privatly to ſee what it was. He came back ſoon after & told me they were building a Houſe & that there was a ſhipp; wherupon I approached as neere as I could without being diſcover'd, & ſet myſelf with my men as it were in ambuſh, to ſurprize ſome of thos that were there & to make them priſoners to know what or who they might bee. I was as wary as might bee, & ſpent the whole night very neere the place where the Hous ſtood, without ſeeing anybody ſtirr or ſpeak untill about noon next day, & then I ſee they were Engliſh, & drawing neerer them the better to obſerve them, I return'd to my canoo with my men. Wee ſhewed ourſelves a Cannon-ſhott off & ſtayed as if wee had ben ſalvages that wonder'd to ſee anybody there building a Houſe. It was

not

not long before wee were diſcover'd, & they hollowed unto us, inviting us to goe unto them, pronouncing ſome words in the Indian tongue, which they Read in a Book. But ſeeing wee did not come unto them, they came unto us along the ſhoare, & ſtanding right oppoſit unto us, I ſpoke unto them in the Indian tongue & in French, but they underſtood me not; but at laſt aſking them in Engliſh who they were & what they intended to do there, they anſwer'd they were Engliſh men come hether to trade for Beaver. Afterwards I aſked them who gave them permiſſion, & what commiſſion they had for it. They told me they had no commiſſion, & that they were of New England. I told them I was ſetled in the country before them for the French Company, & that I had ſtrength ſufficient to hinder them from Trading to my prejudice; that I had a Fort 7 leagues off, but that the noiſe of their Gunns made me come to ſee them, thinking that it might bee a french ſhipp that I expected, which was to come to a River farther North then this where they were, that had put in there by ſome accident contrary to my directions; that I had 2 other ſhipps lately arriv'd from Canada, commanded by myſelf & my Brother, & therefore I adviſed them not to make any longer ſtay there, & that they were beſt bee gon & take along with them on board what they had landed.

In ſpeaking I cauſ'd my canoo to draw as neer the ſhoare as could bee, that I might the better diſcern thos I talked with; & finding it was young Guillem that comanded the ſhipp, I was very glad of it, for I was intimately acquainted with him. As ſoon as hee knew mee hee invited me aſhore. I came accordingly, & wee imbraced each other. Hee invited me on board his ſhipp to treat me. I would not ſeem to have any diſtruſt, but having precaution'd myſelf went along with him. I cauſ'd my 3 men to come out of my canoo & to ſtay aſhore with 2 Engliſhmen whileſt I went on board with the Captain. I ſee on board a New England man that I knew very well. Before I enter'd the ſhipp the Captain cauſed Engliſh coullers to bee ſet up, & as ſoon as I came on board ſome great Gunns to bee fir'd. I told him it was not needfull to ſhoot any more, fearing leaſt our men might bee allarm'd & might doe him ſome miſchief. Hee propoſed that wee might Traffick together. I told him I would acquaint our other officers of it, & that I would uſe my endeavor to get their conſent that hee ſhould paſs the winter wher hee was without receaving any prejudice, the ſeaſon being too far paſt to bee gon away. I told him hee might continue to build his Houſe without any need of fortifications, telling him I would ſecure him from any danger on the part of the Indians, over whom I had an abſolute ſway, & to ſecure him from any ſurprize on my part. I would before our parting let him know with what number of men I would bee attended when I came to viſit him, giving him to underſtand that if I came with more then what was agreed betwixt us, it would bee a ſure ſigne our officers would not conſent unto the propoſal of our trading together. I alſo adviſed him hee ſhould not fier any Gunns, & that hee ſhould not ſuffer his men to goe out of the Iſland, fearing they might bee met by the french men that I had in the woods. that hee might not blame me for any accident that might enſue if hee did not follow my advice. I told him alſo the Salvages adviſed mee my ſhipp was arrived to the Northwards, & promiſſ'd that I would come viſit him againe in 15 days & would tell him farther. Wherof hee was very thankfull, & deſired me to bee mindfull of him; after which wee ſeperated very well ſattisfy'd with each other, hee verily beleeving I had the ſtrenght I ſpake of, & I reſolving allways to hold him in this opinion, deſiring to have him bee gone, or if hee perſiſted to interrupt me in my trade, to wait ſome opportunity of ſeizing his ſhipp, which was a lawfull Prize, having no Commiſſion from England nor france to trade. But I would not attempt anything raſhly, for fear of miſſing my ayme; eſpecially I would avoide ſpilling blood.

Being returned with my men on board my Canoo, wee fell down the River with what haſt wee could; but wee were ſcarce gon three Leagues from the Iſland where the new England ſhipp lay, but that wee diſcovered another ſhipp under ſaile coming into the River. Wee got aſhore to the ſouthwards, & being gon out of the Canoo to ſtay for the ſhipp that was ſailing towards us, I cauſed a Fier to bee made; & the ſhipp being over againſt us, ſhee came to Anchor & ſent not her Boat aſhore that night untill next morning. Wee watched all night to obſerve what was don, & in the morning, ſeeing the long boat rowing towards us, I cauſed my 3 men, well armed, to ſtand at the entrance into the wood 20 paces from me, & I came alone to the water ſide. M^r^ Bridgar, whom the Company ſent Governor into that country, was in the Boate, with 6 of the crew belonging unto the ſhipp wherof Cap^t^ Guillam was Commander, who was father, as I underſtood afterwards, unto him that Comanded the New England ſhipp that I had diſcover'd the day before. Seeing the ſhallopp come towards me, I ſpake a kinde of jargon like that of the ſalvages, which ſignify'd nothing, only to amuſe thoſe in the boat or to make them ſpeake, the better to obſerve them, & to ſee if there might bee any that had frequented the Indians & that ſpak their Languadge. All were ſilent; & the boat coming a ground 10 or 12 paces from me, ſeeing one of the ſeamen leap in the water to come a ſhore, I ſhowed him my wepons, forbidding him to ſtirr, telling him that none in the Boate ſhould come a ſhore untill I knew who they were; & obſerving by the make of the ſhipp & the habit of the ſaylors that they were Engliſh, I ſpake in their Languadge, & I underſtood that the ſeamen that leapt in the water which I hinder'd to proceed any farther ſaid aloud, "Governor, it is Engliſh they ſpake unto you;" & upon my continuing to aſk who they were who comanded the ſhipp, & what they ſought there, ſome body anſwer'd, "What has any body to doe to inquire? Wee are Engliſh." Unto which I reply'd, "And I am French, and require you to bee gon;" & at the ſame inſtant making ſigne unto my men to appeare, they ſhewed themſelves at the entrance of the wood. Thoſe of the ſhallop thinking in all likelyhood wee were more in number, were about to have anſwer'd me in mild terms & to tell me they were of London, that the ſhipp belong'd unto the Hudſon Bay Company, & was Comanded by Capᵗ Guillem. I inform'd them alſo who I was; that they came too late, & that I had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe parts in the name & behalf of the King of ffrance.

There was ſeverall other things ſaid, which is not needfull heere to relate, the Engliſh aſſerting they had right to come into thos parts, & I ſaying the contrary; but at laſt Mʳ Bridgar ſaying hee deſired to come aſhore with 3 of his crew to embrace me, I told him that I ſhould bee very well ſattisfy'd. Hee came a ſhore, & after mutuall ſalutations, hee aſked of me if this was not the River Kakiwakionay. I anſwer'd it was not, & that it was farther to the Southward; that this was called *Kawirinagau*, or the dangerous. Hee aſked of me if it was not the River where Sir Thomas Button, that comanded an Engliſh ſhipp, had formerly winter'd. I told him it was, & ſhew'd him the place, to the northwards. Then hee invited me to goe aboard. My crew being come up, diſſwaded me, eſpecially my Nephew; yet, taking 2 hoſtages which I left aſhore with my men, for I ſuſpected Capt Guillem, having declared himſelf my Ennemy at London, being of the faction of thoſe which were the cauſe that I deſerted the Engliſh Intreſt, I went aboard, & I did well to uſe this precaution, otherwiſe Capt Guillem would have ſtop't me, as I was ſince inform'd; but all things paſt very well. Wee din'd together. I diſcourſed of my Eſtabliſhment in the country; that I had good numbers of ffrench men in the woods with the Indians; that I had 2 ſhipps & expected another; that I was building a Fort; to conclude, all that I ſaid unto young Guillem, Maſter of the New England ſhipp, I ſaid the ſame unto Mr Bridgar, & more too. He took all for currant, & it was well for me hee was ſo credulous, for would hee have ben at the troble I was of travelling 40 leagues through woods & Brakes, & lye on the could ground to make my Diſcoverys, hee wold ſoon have perceaved my weakneſs. I had reaſon to hide it & to doe what I did. Morover, not having men ſuffitient to reſiſt with open force, it was neceſſary to uſe pollicy. It's true I had a great advantage in having the natives on my ſide, which was a great ſtrength, & that indeed wherupon I moſt of all depended.

Having ſtay'd a good while on board I deſir'd to go aſhore, which being don, I made a ſigne to my men to bring the hoſtages, which they had carry'd into the woods. They brought them to the water ſide, & I ſent them aboard their ſhipp. I confeſs I repented more then once of my going aboard. It was too raſhly don, & it was happy for me that I got off as I did. Before I came aſhore I promiſſed M^r^ Bridgar & the Captain that in 15 Dayes I would viſit them againe. In the mean time, the better to bee aſſured of their proceedings, I ſtay'd 2 dayes in the Woods to obſerve their actions; and having upon the matter ſeen their deſſigne, that they intended to build a Fort, I paſſed the River to the Southwards to return to my Brother-in-Law, who might well bee in ſome feare for me. But coming unto him, hee was very glad of what had paſt, & of the good condition I had ſett matters. Wee conſulted together what meſures to take not to be ſurpriz'd & to maintaine ourſelves the beſt wee could in our ſetlement for carrying on our Treaty. Wee endeavor'd to ſecure the Indians, who promiſ'd to looſe their Lives for us; & the more to oblidge them to our ſide I granted them my nephew & another frenchman to goe along with them into the country to make the ſeverall ſorts of Indians to come traffick with us, & the more to incourage them I ſent preſents unto the chiefeſt of them.

During my voyage of Diſcovering 2 Engliſh ſhipps, there happned an Ill accident for us. Our Company had kill'd 60 Deere, which had ben a great help towards our winter proviſions; but by an Inundation of waters cauſed by great

Rains they were all carry'd away. Such great floods are common in thoſe parts. The loſs was very great unto us, for wee had but 4 Barrells of Pork & 2 of Beef; but our men repair'd this Loſſe, having kill'd ſome more Deere and 4,000 white Partridges, ſomewhat bigger than thos of Europ. The Indians alſo brought us Proviſions they had kill'd from ſeverall parts at a great diſtance off. Ten dayes after my return from Diſcovering the Engliſh, I took 5 other men to obſerve what they did. I had forſeen that wee ſhould bee forced to ſtay for faire weather to croſſe the mouth of the dangerous River of Kauvirinagaw, which alſo proved accordingly, for the ſeaſon began to be boiſterous; but having ſtay'd ſome time, at laſt wee got ſafe over, although it was in y^e night, & 14 dayes after our departure wee gained neere the place where M^r Bridgar lay. Wee preſently ſee the ſhipp lay aground on the ooze, a mile from the place where they built their Houſe. Being come neere the ſhipp, wee hailed ſeverall times & no body anſwered, which oblig'd us to goe towards land, wondring at their ſilence. At length a man called us & beckn'd to us to come back. Going towards him & aſking how all did, hee ſaid ſomething better, but that all were aſleep. I would not diſturb them & went alone unto the Governor's houſe, whom I found juſt getting up. After the common ceremonys were paſt, I conſider'd the poſture of things, & finding there was no great danger, & that I need not feare calling my people, wee went in all together. I made one of my men paſs for Captain of the ſhipp that I ſaid was lately arrived. M^r Bridgar beleev'd it was ſo, & all that I thought good to ſay unto him, endeavoring all along that hee ſhould know nothing of the New England Interloper. Wee ſhot off ſeverall Muſquets in drinking healths, thoſe of the veſſell never being concern'd, wherby I judg'd they were careleſs & ſtood not well on their gard, & might bee eaſily ſurpriz'd. I reſolved to vew them. Therefore, takeing leave of m^r^ Bridgar, I went with my people towards the veſſell. Wee went on board to rights without oppoſition. The Captain was ſomthing ſtartled at firſt to ſee us, but I bid him not feare; I was not there with any deſſigne to harme him; on the contrary, was ready to aſſiſt & help him wherin hee ſhould comand me, adviſing him to uſe more Diligence than hee did to preſerve himſelfe & ſhipps from the Danger I ſee hee was in of being loſt, which afterwards happned. But hee was diſpleaſ'd at my Counſill, ſaying hee knew better what to doe than I could tell him. That might bee, ſaid I, but not in the Indians' country, where I had ben more frequent than he. However, hee deſired me to ſend him ſom refreſhments from time to time during the winter ſeaſon, eſpetially ſome oyle & candles, of which hee ſtood in great want, which I promiſ'd to doe, & perform'd accordingly. Hee made me preſent of a peece of Beeff & a few Biſketts. Being fully inform'd of what I deſired to know, & that I need not feare any harm theſe Gentlemen could doe me in regard of my trade, I took leave of the Captain, to goe ſee what paſſed on behalf of the new England Interloper.

I arrived there next day in the afternoon, & found they had employ'd the time better than the others had don, having built a Fort, well fortifyed with 6 great Gunns mounted. I fired a muſket to give notice unto thoſe in the Fort of my coming, & I landed on a litle beach under the Gunns. The lieutenant came out with another man well arm'd to ſee what wee were. When hee ſee me hee congratulated my ſafe return, & aſked what news. I told him I had found, though with great difficulty, what I ſought after, & that I came to viſit them, having taken other men than thoſe I had before; that one of thoſe with me was captain of the ſhipp lately arrived, & the other 4 were of Cannada. The Lieutenant anſwer'd me very briſkly: "Were they 40 Devills wee will not feare. Wee have built a Fort, & doe fear nothing." Yet hee invited mee into his Fort to treat me, provided I would go in alone, which I refuſed, intimating hee might have ſpoke with more modeſty, coming to viſit him in friendſhip & good will, & not in a hoſtile manner. I told him alſo I deſired to diſcours with his Captain, who doubtleſs would have more moderation. Wherupon he ſent to inform the Captain, who came unto me well armed, & told me that I need not bee jealous of the Fort hee had cauſed to bee built, that 'twas no prejudice to me, & that I ſhould at any time comand it, adding withall that hee feared me not ſo much as hee did the Engliſh of London, & that hee built this fort to defend himſelf againſt the Salvages, & all thos that would attack him. I thank'd him for his civillitys unto me, & aſſur'd him I came not thither to ſhew any diſpleſure for his building a fort, but to offer him 20 of my men to aſſiſt him, & to tell him that thos hee ſo much feared were arrived, offering my ſervis to defend him, telling him if hee would follow my conſill I would defend him from all danger, knowing very well the Orders theſe new comers had, & alſo what condition they were in. I alſo told him that as to the difference which was betwixt us about the trade, it was referr'd unto the arbitrement of both our Kings; that for good luck to him, his father comanded the ſhipp newly arrived; that he brought a Governor for the Engliſh Company, whom I intended to hinder from aſſuming that Title in the Countrys wherin I was eſtabliſhed for the french company, & as for his part, I would make him paſs for a french man, therby to keep him from receaving any dammadge.

Having ſaid thes things to the Captain of the fort, I made him call his men together, unto whom I gave a charge in his preſence that they ſhould not goe out of their fort, nor fire any Gunns, nor ſhew their cullers; that they ſhould cover the head & ſtern of their ſhipp; & that they ſhould ſuffer neither ffrench nor Engliſh to come near their fort, neither by land nor by Water, & that they ſhould fier on any of my people as would offer to approach without my orders. The Captain promiſ'd all ſhould bee obſerv'd that I had ſaid, & comanded his men in my preſence ſo to doe, deſiring me to ſpare him 2 of my men as ſoon as I could, to guard them. I told him that his father, Captain of the Company's ſhipp, was ſick, wherat hee ſeem'd to bee much trobled, & deſired me to put him in a way to ſee him without any damadge. I told him the danger & difficulty of it; nevertheleſs, having privat reaſons that this enterview of Father & Sonn might be procur'd by my means, I told him I would uſe my beſt endeavor to give him this ſatisfaction, & that I hop'd to effect it, provided hee would follow my directions. Hee agreed to doe what I adviſed, & after ſome litle ſtuddy wee agreed that hee ſhould come along with me diſguiſ'd like one that lived in the woods, & that I wold make him paſſe for a french man. This being concluded, I ſent my men next morning early to kill ſome fowle. They returned by 10 o'clocke with 30 or 40 Partridge, which I took into my canoo, with a Barrill of Oyle & ſome candles that I had promiſ'd the old Captain Guillem. I left one of my men hoſtage in the fort, and imbarked with young Guillem to goe ſhew him his father. The tyde being low, wee were forced to ſtop a mile ſhort of the ſhipp, & goe aſhore & walk up towards the ſhipp with our proviſions. I left one of my men to keepe the Canoo, with orders to keep off, & coming neere the ſhipp I placed 2 of my beſt men betwixt the Houſe m^r Bridgar cauſ'd to bee built & the water ſide, comanding them not to ſhew themſelves, & to ſuffer the Governor to goe to the veſſell, but to ſeize him if they ſee him come back before I was got out of the ſhipp.

Having ordered things in this manner, I went with one of my men & young Guillem aboard the ſhipp, where wee againe entered without any oppoſition. I preſented unto Cap^t Guillem the Proviſions I had brought him, for which hee gave me thanks. Afterwards, I made my 2 men go into his cabbin, one of which was his ſon, though unknown to him. I deſired Cap^t Guillem to bid 2 of his ſervants to withdraw, having a thing of conſequence to inform him of, which being don, I told him the ſecret was that I had brought his ſonn to give him a viſit, having earneſtly deſired it of me; & having told him how neceſſary it was to keep it privat, to prevent the damadge might befall them both if it ſhold bee known, I preſented the ſon unto his father, who Imbraced each other very tenderly & with great joy; yet hee told him hee expoſed him unto a great deale of danger. They had ſome priviat diſcours togather, after which hee deſired me to ſave my new French man. I told him I would diſcharge myſelf of that truſt, & againe adviſed him to bee carefull of preſerving his ſhipp, & that nothing ſhould bee capable of making any difference betwixt us, but the Treaty hee might make with the Indians. Hee told me the ſhipp belonged to the Company; that as to the Trade, I had no cauſe to bee afraid on his account, & that though hee got not one ſkin, it would nothing troble him; hee was aſſured of his wages. I warned him that he ſhould not ſuffer his men to ſcatter abroad, eſpetially that they ſhould not goe towards his ſonn's ſort, which hee promiſ'd ſhould bee obſerv'd. Whilſt wee were in this diſcours, the Governor, hearing I was come, came unto the Shipp & told me that my Fort muſt needs bee neerer unto him than hee expected, ſeeing I return'd ſo ſpeedily. I told him, ſmiling, that I did fly when there was need to ſerve my friends, & that knowing his people were ſick & wanted refreſhments, I would not looſe time in ſupplying them, aſſuring him of giving him part what our men did kill at all times. Some prying a litle too narrowly, young Guillem thought hee had ben diſcovered, wherat the Father & ſon were not a litle concern'd. I took upon me, & ſaid it was not civill ſo narrowly to examine my people; they excuſ'd it, & the tyde being com in, I took leave to be gon. The Governor & Captain divided my proviſions, & having made a ſigne unto my 2 men to riſe out of their ambuſh, I came out of the ſhipp, & wee march'd all of us unto the place where wee left our Canoo. Wee got into it, & the young Captain admired to ſee a litle thing made of the rhind of a Tree reſiſt ſo many knocks of Ice as wee met withall in returning.

Next day wee arrived at the Fort, & very ſeaſonably for us; for had wee ſtayed a litle longer on the water, wee had ben ſurprized with a terrible ſtorm at N. W., with ſnow & haile, which doubtleſs would have ſunk us. The ſtorm held 2 days, & hinder'd us from going to our pretended fort up the river; but the weather being ſetled, I took leave of the Captain. The Lieut. would faine have accompanyed us unto our habitation, but I ſav'd him that Labour for good reaſons, & to conceall the way. Parting from the fort, wee went to the upper part of the Iſland; but towards evening wee returned back, & next day were in ſight of the ſea, wherin wee were to goe to double the point to enter the River where our habitation was; but all was ſo frozen that it was almoſt impoſſible to paſs any farther. Wee were alſo ſo hem'd in on all ſides with Ice, that wee could neither go forward nor get to Land, yet wee muſt get over the Ice or perriſh. Wee continued 4 hours in this condition, without being able to get backwards or forwards, being in great danger of our lifes. Our cloaths were frozen on our backs, & wee could not ſtirr but with great paine; but at length with much adoe wee got aſhore, our canoo being broke to peeces. Each of us truſſed up our cloaths & arms, & marched along the ſhoare towards our habitation, not having eat anything in 3 days, but ſome crows & Birds of prey that laſt of all retire from theſe parts. There was no other fowle all along that coaſt, which was all covered with Ice & ſnow. At length wee arrived oppoſite unto our habitation, which was the other ſide of the River, not knowing how to get over, being cover'd with Ice; but 4 of our men ventur'd in a Boat to come unto us. They had like to have ben ſtaved by the Ice. Wee alſo were in very great danger, but wee ſurmounted all theſe difficultys & got unto our habitation, for which wee had very great cauſe to give God thanks of ſeeing one another after having run through ſo great Dangers.

During my travelling abroad, my brother-in-Law had put our Houſe into pretty good order. Wee were ſecure, fearing nothing from the Indians, being our allies; & as for our neighbours, their diſorder, & the litle care they took of informing themſelves of us, ſet us ſafe from fearing them. But as it might well happen that the Governor Bridgar might have notice that the New England Interloper was in the ſame river hee was, & that in long running hee might diſcover the truth of all that I had diſcourſed & concealed from him, & alſo that hee might come to underſtand that wee had not the ſtrength that I boaſted of, I thought it fit to prevent Danger; & the beſt way was to aſſure my ſelf of the New England ſhipp in making myſelf maſter of her; for had m^r^ Bridgar ben beforehand with mee, hee would have ben too ſtrong for me, & I had ben utterly unable to reſiſt him; but the queſtion was how to effect this buſineſſe, wherin I ſee manifeſt difficultys; but they muſt bee ſurmounted, or wee muſt perriſh. Therefore I made it my buſineſs wholy to follow this Enterpriſe, referring the care of our Houſe & of the Traffick unto my brother-in-Law.

Seeing the River quite froze over, every other day for a fortnight I ſent my men through the woods to ſee in what ſtate the Company's ſhipp lay. At length they told me ſhee lay a ground neer the ſhoare, the creek wherin ſhee was to have layn the Winter being frozen up, which made me conjecture ſhee would infallibly bee loſt. I alſo ſent 2 of my men unto Young Captain Guillem into the Iſland, which hee had deſired of me for his ſafegard; but I was told by my people that hee intended to deceave me, having, contrary unto his promiſe of not receaving any into his Fort but ſuch as ſhould come by my Orders, had ſent his Boat to receave 2 men from the Company's ſhipp, which Mr Bridgar had ſent to diſcover what they could the way that I tould him our fort was, & alſo to ſee if they could find any wreck of their ſhipp; but theſe 2 men, ſeeing thos of the fort begin to ſtir & to Lanch out their Boat, they thought they would fier on them, as I had comanded. They were affrighted & run away. Being come to Mr Bridgar, they told him there was a Fort & a french ſhipp neerer unto them than I had ſaid. Upon this information, Mr Bridgar ſent 2 men to paſs from north to ſouth, to know if it were true that wee had 2 Shipps beſides that which was at the Iſland. Wherof being adviſed by my people, I ſent out 3 ſeverall ways to endeavor to take the 2 men Mr Bridgar had ſent to make this diſcovery, having ordered my people not to doe them any violence. My people ſucceded, for they found the 2 poore men within 5 leagues of our Houſe, allmoſt dead with cold & hunger, ſo that it was no hard matter to take them. They yeelded, & were brought unto my habitation, where having refreſhed them with ſuch proviſion as wee had, they ſeemed nothing diſpleaſ'd at falling into our hands. I underſtood by them the orders Mr Bridgar had given them for making the Diſcovery, which made me ſtand the more cloſe on my Gard, & to uſe freſh means to hinder that the Governor Bridgar ſhould not have knowledge of the New-England Interlopers.

About this time I ſent ſome proviſions unto Mr Bridgar, who was in great want, although hee ſtrove to keep it from my knowledge. Hee thanked mee by his Letters, & aſſur'd me hee would not interrupt my trade, & that hee would not any more ſuffer his men to come neere the forts, which hee thought had ben ours. I alſo ſent to viſit young Guillem, to obſerve his proceedings, & to ſee in what condition hee was, to make my beſt advantage of it. The 2 Engliſhmen which my people brought, told me the Company's ſhipp was ſtav'd to peeces, & the captain, Lest, & 4 ſeamen drown'd; but 18 of the company being aſhore eſcaped that danger. Upon this advice I went to viſit Mr Bridgar, to obſerve his actions. I brought him 100 Partridges, & gave him ſome Powder to kill fowle, & offer'd him my ſervis. I aſked where his ſhipp was, but hee would not owne ſhee was loſt, but ſaid ſhee was 4 leagues lower in the River. I would not preſs him any farther in the buſineſſe, but civilly took our leave of each other.

From thence I went unto the Fort in the Iſland alſo, to ſee what paſt there, & to endeavor to compaſſe the deſſigne I had laid of taking the Shipp & fort, having ſince diſcovered by letters intercepted, that young Guillim intended to ſhew me a trick & deſtroy me. Being come to the fort in the Iſland, I made no ſhew of knowing the loſſe of his father, nor of the Company's ſhipp, only I told young Guillim his father continued ill, & did not think ſafe to write him, fearing to diſcover him. Afterwards I deſired hee would come unto our habitation; & ſo I returned without effecting any more that day. Eight days after, I returned to ſee mr Bridgar, unto whom I ſaid that hee did not take ſufficient care to preſerve his men; that I had 2 of them at my Fort, who told me of the loſſe of his ſhipp, which hee owned. I told him I would aſſiſt him, & would ſend him his 2 men & what elſe hee deſired. I alſo offer'd him one of our Barques, with proviſions requiſit to convey him in the Spring unto the bottom of the Bay, which hee refuſed. I aſſured him of all the ſervis that lay in my power, treating him with all civillity could bee for the Eſteeme that I ever bore unto the Engliſh nation. As for m^{r} Bridgar, I had no great caus to bee over well pleaſed with him, being adviſed that hee ſpake ill of mee in my abſence, & had ſaid publickly unto his people that hee would deſtroy my Trade, ſhould hee give 6 axes & proportionably of other Goods unto the Indians for a Bevor ſkin.[64] I have an atteſtation heerof to ſhew. I ſtayed 2 dayes on this voyadge with m^{r} Bridgar, having then a reall intent to ſerve him, ſeeing hee was not in a condition to hurt me; & returning unto my habitation, I called at Young Gwillim's fort in the Iſland, where I intended to execute my deſſigne, it being now time.

When I arrived at the fort, I told young Gwillim his father continued ill, & that hee referr'd all unto me, upon which I ſaid unto him touching his father & of his reſolution, hee earneſtly deſired I would goe back with him & take him along with me, diſguiſed as before, that hee might ſee him; but I diſſwaded him from this, & put in his head rather to come ſee our habitation, & how wee lived. I knew hee had a deſire to doe ſoe, therefore I would ſattisfy his curioſity. Having, therefore, perſwaded him to this, wee parted next morning betimes. Hee took his Carpenter along with him, & wee arrived at our habitation, Young Gwillim & his man being ſufficiently tired. I thought it not convenient that young Gwillim ſhould ſee the 2 Engliſhmen that was at our Houſe. I kept them privat, & fitted them to bee gon next morning, with 2 of my men, to goe athwart the woods unto their habitation, having promiſ'd m^r^ Bridgar to ſend them unto him. I gave them Tobacco, Cloaths, & ſeverall other things m^r^ Bridgar deſired; but when they were to depart, one of the Engliſhmen fell at my feet & earneſtly deſired that I would not ſend him away. I would not have granted his requeſt but that my Brother-in-Law deſired me to do it, & that it would alſo eaſe m^r^ Bridgar's charge, who wanted proviſions; ſo I ſufferred the other to depart along with my 2 men, having given them directions. I cauſed young Gwillem to ſee them going, telling him I ſent them unto our Fort up the river.

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[64] The Company's early ſtandard for trading was: "For 1 Gun, one with another, 10 good ſkins, that is, winter beavor; 12 ſkins for the biggeſt ſort, 10 for the mean, and 8 for the ſmalleſt. Powder, a beaver for ½ a lb. A beaver for 4 lb. of ſhot. A beaver for a great and little hatchet. A beaver for 6 great knives or 8 jack-knives. Beads, a beaver for ½ a lb. Six beavers for one good laced coat. Five beavers for one red plain coat. Coats for women, laced, two yards, six beavers. Coats for women, plain, Five beavers. Tobacco, a beaver for 1 lb. Powder-horns, a beaver for a large one and two ſmall ones. Kettles, a beaver for one lb. of Kettle. Looking-glaſſes and combs, 2 ſkins."

I continued a whole moneth at quiet, treating young Guillem, my new gueſt, with all civillity, which hee abuſed in ſeverall particulars; for having probably diſcovered that wee had not the ſtrength that I made him beleeve wee had, hee unadviſedly ſpeak threatning words of me behind my back, calling me Pyrate, & ſaying hee would trade with the Indians in the Spring in ſpight of me. Hee had alſo the confidence to ſtrike one of my men, but I connived at it. But one day diſcourſing of the privilledges of new England, he had the confidence to ſpeak ſlightly of the beſt of Kings, wherupon I called him pittyfull Dogg for talking after that manner, & told him that for my part, having had the honour to have ben in his majeſty's ſervis, I would pray for his majeſty as long as I lived. Hee anſwered mee with harſh words that hee would return back to his fort, & when hee was there, that would not dare talk to him as I did. I could not have a fairer opportunity to begin what I deſſigned. Upon which I told the young foole that I brought him from his fort & would carry him thither againe when I pleaſ'd, not when hee liked. Hee ſpake ſeverall other impertinencys, that made me tell him that I would lay him up ſafe enough if hee behaved not himſelf wiſer. Hee aſked me if hee was a priſoner. I told him I would conſider of it, & that I would ſecure my Trade, ſeeing hee threatened to hinder it. After which I retired & gave him leave to bee inform'd by the Engliſhman how that his father & the company's ſhipp were loſt, & the bad condition m^r Bridgar was in. I left a french man with them that underſtood Engliſh, but they knew it not. When I went out, young Gwillim bid the Engliſhman make his eſcape & goe tell his maſter that hee would give him 6 Barrills of Powder & other proviſions if hee would attempt to deliver him out of my hands. The Engliſhman made no reply, neither did hee tell me of what had ben propoſed unto him. I underſtood it by my frenchman, that heard the whole matter, & I found it was high time to act for my owne ſafety.

That evning I made no ſhew of any thing, but going to bed I aſked our men if the fier Locks that wee placed at night round our fort to defend us from thos that would attack us were in order. At this word of fire Locks young Gwillim, who knew not the meaning of it, was ſuddenly ſtartled & would have run away, thinking wee intended to kill him. I cauſed him to bee ſtay'd, & freed him of his feare. But next morning I made him an unwelcom compliment; I told him that I was going to take his ſhipp & fort. Hee anſwered very angrily that if I had 100 men I could not effect it, & that his men would kill 40 before they could come neere the palliſſade. I was nothing diſcouradged at his bravado, knowing very well that I ſhould compaſſe my deſſigne. I made account that 2 of my men would have ſtay'd in the fort for hoſtages, but having what libberty they would, one of them returned to our habitation without my order. I was angry at it, but I made no ſhew of it, having laid my deſſigne ſo as to make more uſe of ſkill & pollicy than of open force; ſeeing therefore the haughty anſwer young Gwillem made me, that I could not take his fort with 100 men, I aſked of him how many men hee had in it. Hee ſaid nyne. I deſired him to chooſe the like number of myne, I being one of the number, telling him I would deſire no more, & that in 2 dayes I would give him a good account of his fort & of his ſhipp, & that I would not have him to have the ſhame of being preſent to ſee what I ſhould doe. Hee choſe & named ſuch of my men as hee pleaſ'd, & I would not chooſe any others. I ſufferr'd him to come with me to the water ſide, & I made the ninth man that went upon this Expedition, with an Engliſhman of m^r Bridgar's to bee a wittneſs of the buſeneſſe.

Being arriv'd within half a league of the fort, I left the Engliſhman with one frenchman, ordering they ſhould not ſtirr without farther order; at the ſame time I ſent 2 of my men directly to the fort to the Southward of the Iſland, & I planted myſelf with my other 5 men at the North point of the ſame Iſland to obſerve what they did that I ſent to the fort. They were ſtop't by 3 Engliſhmen armed, that aſked if they had any letters from their maſter. My people anſwer'd, according to my Inſtructions, that hee was coming along with mee; that being weary, wee ſtay'd behind; that they came a litle before for ſome brandy which they offerr'd to carry. The Engliſhmen would needs doe the office, & my 2 men ſtay'd in the fort. Hee that was hoſtage had orders to ſeize on the Court of Gard Dore, one of them newly come to ſeize the Dore of the Houſe, & the 3 was to goe in & out, that in caſe the deſſigne was diſcover'd hee might ſtopp the paſſage of the Dore with Blocks of wood, to hinder it from being ſhutt & to give me freedom to enter unto their aſſiſtance; but there needed not ſo much adoe, for I enter'd into the fort before thos that were appointed to defend it were aware. The Lieutenant was ſtartled at ſeeing me, & aſked "wher his maſter was; it was high time to appear & act." I anſwered the Lieutenant "it matter'd not where his maſter was, but to tell me what men hee had & to call them out;" & my men being enter'd the fort & all together, I told thos that were preſent the cauſe of my coming, that I intended to bee Maſter of the place, & that 't was too late to diſpute. I commanded them to bring me the Keys of the Fort & all their Arms, & to tell mee if they had any Powder in their cheſts, & how much, referring myſelf unto what they ſhould ſay. They made no reſiſtance, but brought me their Arms, & as for Powder, they ſaid they had none. I took poſſeſſion of the Fort in the name of the King of ffrance, & from thence was conducted by the Lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of the ſhipp alſo in the ſame name, which I did without any reſiſtance; & whilſt I was doing all this, young Guil'em's men ſeemed to rejoyce at it rather then to bee troubled, complaining of him for their Ill uſage, & that hee had kill'd his Supercargo. But a Scotchman, one of the crew, to ſhew his zeale, made his Eſcape & run through the woods towards mr Bridgar's Houſe to give him notice of what paſt. I ſent 2 of my nimbleſt men to run after him, but they could not overtake him, being gon 4 hours before them. Hee arrived at mr Bridgar's houſe, who upon the relation of the Scotchman reſolved to come ſurpriſe me.

In the meane while I gave my Brother notice of all that paſt, & that I feared a Scotchman might occaſion me ſome troble that had got away unto mr Bridgar, & that I feared I might bee too deeply ingadg'd unleſs hee preſently gave me the aſſiſtance of 4 men, having more Engliſh priſoners to keep than I had french men with me. I was not deceiv'd in my conjecture. At midnight one of our Doggs alarm'd our ſentinell, who told me hee heard a noiſe on board the ſhipp. I cauſ'd my People to handle their armes, & ſhut up the Engliſh in the cabins under the Gard of 2 of my men. I with 4 others went out to goe to the ſhipp. I found men armed on board, & required them to lay downe their arms & to yeeld. There was 4 that ſubmitted & ſome others got away in the dark. My men would have fired, but I hinder'd them, for which they murmur'd againſt me. I led the priſoners away to the fort & examin'd them one after another. I found they were of mr Bridgar's people, & that hee was to have ben of the number, but hee ſtay'd half a League behind to ſee the ſucceſs of the buſineſſe. The laſt of the Priſoners I examin'd was the Scotch man that had made his eſcape when I took the fort; & knowing hee was the only cauſe that mr Bridgar ingadg'd in the buſineſſe, I would revenge me in making him afraid.

I cauſ'd him to bee ty'd to a ſtake & told that hee ſhould bee hang'd next day. I cauſ'd the other priſoners, his comrades, to bee very kindly treated; & having no farther deſſigne but to make the Scotch man afraide, I made one adviſe him to deſire the Lewtenant of the fort to begg me to ſpare his life, which hee did, & eaſily obtain'd his requeſt, although hee was ſomething ſtartled, not knowing what I meant to doe with him. The 4 men I deſired of my Brother-in-Law arrived during theſe tranſactions, & by this ſupply finding myſelf ſtrong enough to reſiſt whatever mr Bridgar could doe againſt me, I wrote unto him & deſired to know if hee did avow what his men had don, whom I detain'd Priſoners, who had Broke the 2 Dores & the deck of the ſhipp to take away the Powder. Hee made me a very dubious anſwer, complaining againſt me that I had not ben true unto him, having concealed this matter from him. Hee writ me alſo that having ſuffitient orders for taking all veſſells that came into thoſe parts to Trade, hee would have joyned with me in ſeizing of this; but ſeeing the purchas was fal'n into my hands, hee hoped hee ſhould ſhare with mee in it.

I ſent back his 3 men with ſome Tobacco & other proviſions, but kept their arms, bidding them tell mr Bridgar on my behalf that had I known hee would have come himſelf on this Expedition, I would have taken my meſures to have receav'd him ere he could have had the time to get back; but I heard of it a litle too late, & that in ſome ſhort time I would goe viſit him to know what hee would bee at, & that ſeeing hee pretended to bee ſo ignorant in what quallity I liv'd in that country, I would goe and inform him. Before theſe men's departure to mr Bridgar's I was inform'd that ſome Engliſh men had hidden Powder without the fort. I examin'd them all. Not one would owne it; but at laſt I made them confeſs it, & 5 or 6 pound was found that had ben hid. Then I took care to ſecure the fort. I ſent 4 of the Engliſh men of the fort unto my Brother-in-Law, & I prepar'd to goe diſcover what mr Bridgar was doing. I came to his Houſe & went in before hee had notice of my coming. Hee appeared much ſurpriſ'd; but I ſpoke to him in ſuch a manner as ſhewed that I had no intent to hurt him, & I told him that by his late acting hee had ſo diſoblidged all the ffrench that I could not well tell how to aſſiſt him. I told him hee had much better gon a milder way to work, in the condition hee was in, and that ſeeing hee was not as good as his word to me, I knew very well how to deall with him; but I had no intention at that time to act any thing againſt mr Bridgar. I only did it to frighten him, that hee ſhould live kindly by me; & in ſupplying him from time to time with what he wanted, my chief ayme was to diſable him from Trading, & to reduce him to a neceſſity of going away in the Spring.

Seeing mr Bridgar aſtoniſh'd at my being there with 12 men, & in a condition of ruining him if I had deſire to it, I thought fit to ſetle his mynd by ſending away 6 of my men unto my Brother-in-Law, & kept but 6 with me, 4 of

which

which I ſent out into the woods to kill ſome proviſions for mr Bridgar. About this time I receaved a letter from my Brother wherin hee blam'd me for acting after this manner with perſons that but 2 days agoe endeavor'd to ſurpriſe me; that if I did ſo, hee would forſake all; that I had better diſarm them for our greater ſecurity, & that I ſhould not charge myſelf with any of them. It was alſo the judgment of the other french men, who were all exaſperated againſt Mr Bridgar. Not to diſpleaſe my owne people, inſtead of 4 Engliſh men that I promiſ'd mr Bridgar to take along with me that hee might the better preſerve the reſt, I took but 2, one of which I put in the Fort at the Iſland, & the other I brought unto our habitation. I promiſſ'd mr Bridgar before I left him to ſupply him with Powder & anything elſe that was in my power, & demanding what ſtore of muſquets hee had remaining, hee told me hee had Ten, & of them 8 were broken. I tooke the 8 that were ſpoyl'd, & left him myne that was well fixt, promiſing to get his mended. Hee alſo offer'd me a pocket Piſtoll, ſaying hee knew well enough that I intended to diſarm him. I told him it was not to diſarm him, to take away his bad arms & to give him good in ſtead of them. I offerr'd him my Piſtolls, but hee would not accept of them. In this ſtate I left him, & went to our habitation to give my Brother-in-Law an account of what I had don.

Some dayes after, I went to the Fort in the Iſland to ſee if all was well there, & having given all neceſſary directions I return'd unto our place, taking the Lieutenant of the Fort along with me, unto whom I gave my owne chamber & all manner of libberty; taking him to bee wiſer than his captain, whom they were forc'd to confine in my abſence. Hee thanked mee for my civillityes, & deſiring hee might goe to his Captain, I conſented. About this time I had adviſe, by one of the men that I left to guard the fort in the Iſland, that mr Bridgar, contrary to his promis, went thether with 2 of his men, & that our men having ſuffer'd them to enter into the fort, they retain'd mr Bridgar & ſent the other 2 away, having given them ſome Bread & Brandy. This man alſo told me that mr Bridgar ſeemed very much trobl'd at his being ſtopt, & acted like a mad man. This made me preſently goe to the fort to hinder any attempts might be made againſt me. Being arrived, I found mr Bridgar in a ſad condition, having drank to exceſs. Him that comanded in the fort had much adoe to hinder him from killing the Engliſhman that deſired to ſtay with us. Hee ſpoke a thouſand things againſt me in my hearing, threatning to kill me if I did not doe him right. But having a long time born it, I was at length conſtrain'd to bid him bee quiet; & deſirous to know his deſſignes, I aſked him if any of his People were to come, becauſe I ſee ſmoake & fiers in croſſing the River. Hee ſaid Yes, & that hee would ſhortly ſhew me what hee could doe, looking for 14 men which hee expected, beſides the 2 my people return'd back. I told him I knew very well hee had not ſoe many men, having let many of his men periſh for want of meate, for whom hee was to bee accountable; & morover I was not afraid of his threats. Nevertheleſs, no body appear'd, & next dayly I order'd matters ſo as mr Bridgar ſhould come along with me unto our habitation, wherunto hee ſee it was in vaine to reſiſt. I aſſured him that neither I nor any of my People ſhold goe to his Houſe in his abſence, & that when hee had recreated himſelf 10 or 15 Days with mee at our habitation, hee might return with all freedom againe unto his Houſe.

Mr Bridgar was a fortnight at our Houſe without being overtired, & it appeared by his looks that hee had not ben Ill treated; but I not having leaſure allways to keep him company, my affairs calling me abroad, I left him with my Brother-in-Law whilſt I went unto the Fort in the Iſland to ſee how matters went there; & at my going away I told mr Bridgar that if hee pleaſ'd hee might diſpoſe himſelf for his departure home next morning, to rectify ſome diſorders committed by his people in his abſence, to get victualls, & I told him I would meet him by the way to goe along with him. Having diſpatcht my buſineſs at the fort of the Iſland, I went away betimes to bee at mr Bridgar's houſe before him, to hinder him from abuſing his men. The badneſs of the weather made me goe into the Houſe before hee came. As ſoon as I was enter'd, the men beſeech'd me to have compaſſion on them. I blam'd them for what they had don, & for the future adviſed them to bee more obedient unto their maſter, telling them I would deſire him to pardon them, & that in the Spring I would give paſſage unto thoſe that would goe home by the way of ffrance. Mr Bridgar arrived ſoon after me. I beg'd his pardon for going into his Houſe before hee came, aſſuring him that I had ſtill the deſſigne of ſerving him & aſſiſting him, as hee ſhould find when hee pleaſ'd to make uſe of me, for Powder & anything elſe hee needed; which alſo I performed when it was deſir'd of me, or that I knew mr Bridgar ſtood in need of any thing I had. I parted from mr Bridgar's habitation to return unto our own. I paſſed by the fort in the Iſland, & put another frenchman to comand in the place of him was there before, whom I intended to take with me to work uppon our ſhipps.

The Spring now drawing on, the Engliſh of the fort of the Iſland murmur'd becauſe of one of mr Bridgar's men that I had brought thether to live with them. I was forſ't to ſend him back to give them content, not daring to ſend him to our habitation, our french men oppoſing it, wee having too many allready. Arriving at our habitation, I was inform'd that the Engliſh captain very groſſly abuſed one of his men that I kept with him. Hee was his carpenter. I was an eye witneſs myſelf of his outrageous uſage of this poore man, though hee did not ſee me. I blamed the Captain for it, & ſent the man to the fort of the Iſland, to look after the veſſell to keep her in good condition. My nephew arrived about this time, with the french men that went with him to invite downe the Indians, & 2 days after there came ſeverall that brought proviſions. They admired to ſee the Engliſh that wee had in our Houſe, & they offer'd us 200 Bevor ſkins to ſuffer them to goe kill the reſt of them; but I declar'd unto them I was far from conſenting therunto, & charged them on the contrary not to doe them any harm; & mr Bridgar coming at inſtant with one of his men unto our habitation, I adviſed him not to hazard himſelf any more without having ſome of my men with him, & deſir'd him, whilſt hee was at my Houſe, not to ſpeak to the Indians. Yet hee did, & I could not forbeare telling him my mynde, which made him goe away of a ſuddain. I attended him with 7 or 8 of my men, fearing leaſt the Indians who went away but the Day before might doe him a miſchief. I came back next day, being inform'd that a good company of Indians, our old Allies, were to come; & I found they were come with a deſſigne to warr againſt the Engliſh, by the perſwaſion of ſome Indians that I ſee about 8ber laſt, & with whom I had renew'd an alliance. I thanked the Indians for their good will in being ready to make warr againſt our Ennemys; but I alſo told them that I had no intent to doe them any harm, & that having hindred them from hurting me I was ſattisfy'd, & that therefore they would oblidge me to ſay nothing of it, having promiſ'd me they would bee gon in the Spring, but if they came againe I would ſuffer them to deſtroy them. The Indians made great complaints unto me of the Engliſh in the bottom of the Bay, which I will heere omitt, deſiring to ſpeak only of what concerns myſelf; but I ought not omit this. Amongſt other things, they alleadg'd to have my conſent that they might warr againſt the Engliſh. They ſaid thus: "Thou haſt made us make preſents to make thine Ennemys become ours, & ours to bee thyne. Wee will not bee found lyers." By this may bee ſeen what dependance is to bee laid on the friendſhip of this people when once they have promiſ'd. I told them alſo that I lov'd them as my own Brethren the French, & that I would deal better by them than the Engliſh of the Bay did, & that if any of my men did them the leaſt injury I would kill him with my own hands; adding withall that I was very ſorry I was not better ſtor'd with Goods, to give them greater tokens of my friendſhip; that I came this voyage unprovided, not knowing if I ſhould meet them, but I promiſ'd to come another time better ſtor'd of all things they wanted, & in a condition to help them to deſtroy their Ennemys & to ſend them away very well ſattisfy'd. The Engliſh admir'd to ſee with what freedom I lived with theſe ſalvages. This paſ't in the beginning of Aprill, 1683. Being faire wether, I cauſed my nephew to prepare himſelf, with 3 men, to carry Proviſions & Brandy unto our french men & to the Engliſh men at the fort of the Iſland. The Ice began to bee dangerous, & I ſee that it was not ſafe hazarding to goe over it after this time; therefore I ſaid to my nephew that hee would doe well to proceed farther unto the Indians, unto whom hee promiſ'd to give an account how wee did, & to inform them alſo that wee had conquer'd our Ennemys.

After my nephew's departure on this voyadge, there happned an unlookt-for accident the 22 or 23^d of Aprill, at night. Having haled our veſſells as far as wee could into a litle ſlip in a wood, wee thought them very ſecure, lying under a litle Hill about 10 fathom high, our Houſes being about the ſame diſtance off from the River ſide; yet about 10 o'clock at night a hideous great noiſe rouſ'd us all out of our ſleep, & our ſentinill came & told us it was the clattering of much Ice, & that the floods came downe with much violence. Wee haſted unto the river ſide & ſee what the ſentinell told us, & great flakes of Ice were born by the waters upon the topp of our litle Hill; but the worſt was that the Ice having ſtop't the river's mouth, they gather'd in heaps & were carry'd back with great violence & enter'd with ſuch force into all our Brooks that diſcharg'd into the River that 'twas impoſſible our veſſells could reſiſt, & they were ſtav'd all to peeces. There remained only the bottom, which ſtuck faſt in the Ice or in the mudd, & had it held 2 hours longer wee muſt have ben forſt to climbe the trees to ſave our lives; but by good fortune the flood abated. The river was cleer'd by the going away of the Ice, & 3 days after, wee ſee the diſorder our veſſells were in, & the good luck wee had in making ſo great a voyadge in ſuch bad veſſells, for myne was quite Rotten & my Brother's was not trunnel'd. This accident put us into a great feare the like miſchief might bee hapned unto the New England ſhipp; the Indians telling us that the River was more dangerous than ours, & that they beleev'd the veſſell could not eſcape in the place wher ſhee lay. But mr Bridgar having heertoſore related unto me alike accident hapned in the River Kechechewan in the Bottom of the Bay, that a veſſell was preſerv'd by cutting the Ice round about her, I took the ſame cours, & order'd the Ice ſhould bee cut round this veſſell quite to the keele, & I have reaſon to thank mr Bridgar for this advice; it ſav'd the veſſell. Shee was only driven aſhore by the violence of the Ice, & there lay without much dammadge. Whilſt the waters decreaſ'd wee conſulted upon which of the 2 bottoms wee ſhould build us a ſhipp, & it was at laſt reſolv'd it ſhold bee on myne. Upon which wee wrought day & night without intermiſſion, intending this veſſell ſhould carry the Engliſh into the Bay, as I had promiſ'd mr Bridgar.

I went down 2 or 3 times to the River's mouth to ſee what the floods & Ice had don there, & if I could paſs the point into the other River, wher mr Bridgar & the Engliſh veſſell was at the fort of the Iſland, for 't was impoſſible to paſs through the woods, all being cover'd with water. I adventur'd to paſs, & I doubled the point in a canoo of bark, though the Ice was ſo thick that wee drew our canoo over it. Being enter'd the River, I march'd along the South

Shore & got ſafe to the fort of the Iſland with great difficulty. I found the ſhipp lying dry, as I mention'd before, in a bad condition, but eaſily remedy'd, the ſtern being only a litle broke. I gave directions to have her fitted, & I incouradged the Engliſh to work, which they did perform better than the french. Having given theſe directions, I took the ſhipp's Boat & went down to mʳ Bridgar's habitation, & looking in what condition it was, I found that 4 of his men were dead for lack of food, & two that had ben poyſon'd a litle before by drinking ſome liquer they found in the Doctor's cheſt, not knowing what it was. Another of mʳ Bridgar's men had his Arm broke by an accident abroad a hunting.

Seeing all theſe diſorders, I paſſed as ſoon as I could to the South ſide of the river to recover unto our Houſes, from whence I promiſ'd mʳ Bridgar I would ſend his Engliſh Curiorgion that was with us ſome Brandy, vinegar, Lynnen, & what proviſions I could ſpare out of the ſmall ſtore wee had left. Being got a ſhore, I ſent back the Boat to the fort of the Iſle, with orders unto my 2 men I left there to bring my canoo & to uſe it for fowling. In returning I went a ſhore with one of mʳ Bridgar's men that I took along with me to carry back the proviſions I had promiſ'd, although hee did not ſeeme to be very thankfull for it, continueing his threatnings, & boaſted that hee expected ſhipps would come unto him with which hee would take us all. I was nothing daunted at this, but kept on my cours, knowing very well mʳ Bridgar was not in a capacity of doing us any harm; but it being impoſſible but that his being preſent on the place ſhould hinder me, I order'd my buſineſs ſo as to bee gon with what ſkins I had, & ſent away mʳ Bridgar after having ſecured our Trade.

I made ſeverall journeys to the Fort of the Iſland about repairing of the ſhipp; alſo I went ſeverall times to Mʳ Bridgar's houſe to carry him proviſions, & to aſſiſt him & alſo his men with all things that I could procure, which they can teſtify; & had it not ben for me they had ſuffred much more miſery. I had like to bee loſt ſeverall times in theſe journeys by reaſon of great ſtores of Ice; & the paſſage of the entrance of the River to Double the point to enter into that where mʳ Bridgar & the new England ſhipp lay was allways dangerous.

I will not here inſiſt upon the perrills I expoſ'd my ſelf unto in coming & going to prepare things for our departure when the ſeaſon would permitt; but I cannot omit telling that amongſt other kindneſſes I did mʳ Bridgar I gave him ſtuff ſuffitient to ſheath his ſhallup, which was quite out of order, as alſo cordage & all things elſe neceſſary; but hee did not well by me, for contrary to his word which he had given me not to goe to the fort in the Iſland, hee attempted to goe thether with his people in his ſhallup, & being come within muſket-ſhott under a pretence of deſiring ſome Powder, the comander would not ſuffer him to come any neerer, & made him caſt anker farther off. Hee ſent his boate for mʳ Bridgar, who came alone into the fort, though hee earneſtly deſired one of his men might bee admitted along with him, but was deny'd. His men were order'd to lodge themſelves aſhore the North ſide of the River in hutts, & proviſions was ſent unto them. Mʳ Bridgar ſpent that night in the Fort, went away the next day. The day before I ſee the ſhallup going full ſaile towards the fort, whether I was alſo going myſelf by land with one Engliſhman in whom I put a great deale of confidence, having no body elſe with me. I did ſuſpect that mr Bridgar had a deſſign to make ſome ſurpriſe, but I was not much afraid by reaſon of the care & good order I had taken to prevent him.

Nevertheleſs I feared that things went not well; for when I came neer the fort, ſeeing ye boate coming for me, & that the comander did not make the ſignall that was agreed upon betwixt us, this ſtartled me very much, & I appeared as a man that had cauſe to feare the worſt; which one of our frenchmen that ſteered the boat wherin ther was 4 Engliſhmen perceiving, cry'd out all was well, & made the ſignall. I blamed him & the comander for putting me in feare in not making the uſuall ſignes.

When I came to ye fort I was told mr Bridgar was there, & that hee was receaved, as has been recited. I was alſo tould hee had privat diſcours with the carpenter of the new England ſhipp that I had formerly ingadged in a friendly manner to attend & ſerve him. This diſcours made the comander the more narrowly to inſpect mr Bridgar, & to ſtand better upon his gard, the Scotch man telling him hee was not come thither with any good intention; ſo that the comander of the Fort ſent him away in the morning, having given him ſome Pork, Peaſe, & Powder. Having given Orders at the fort, I went to mr Bridgar. Being come to his Houſe, I taxed him of breach of promiſe, & I tould him ther ſhould bee no quarter if hee offered to doe ſoe any more, & that therefore hee ſhould prepare himſelf to goe for the Bay (as ſoone as ever the Ice did permitt) in the veſſell that wee had left, it being ſo agreed on by our french men, aſſuring him I would furniſh him with all things neceſſary for the voyadge. Hee appear'd much amaz'd at the compliment I made him, & hee told me in plaine terms that it muſt bee one of thes 3 things that muſt make him quit the place,—his maſter's orders, force, or hunger. Hee deſired me afterwards that if the captain of the ſalvages of the river of new Severn came, that hee might ſee him by my means, which I promiſ'd to doe.

Having thus diſpoſed m^r^ Bridgar for his departure, I continued to aſſiſt him & his people with all that I could to enable them to work to fit ourſelves to bee gon. I left m^r^ Bridgar in his houſe & I went unto ours, & having conſulted my Brother-in-Law, wee reſolved that 't was beſt to burn the fort in the Iſland & ſecure m^r^ Bridgar, thereby to draw back our men & to eaſe us of the care of defending the fort & of the trouble of ſo many other precautions of ſecuring ourſelves from being ſurprized by m^r^ Bridgar. The crew of both our veſſells made an agreement amongſt themſelves to oppoſe our deſſigne of giving our ſhipp unto the Engliſh for their tranſportation. It was neceſſary at the firſt to ſeeme to yeeld, knowing that in time wee ſhould maſter the factions. It was the maſter of my Bark that began the mutiny. The chief reaſon that made me ſeem to yeeld was that I would not have the Engliſh come to know of our Diviſions, who happly might have taken ſome advantage of it. Wee had 4 amongſt us unto whom I granted libberty upon their parole; but to make ſure of thoſe of new England, wee cauſ'd a Lodge to bee built in a litle Iſland over againſt our Houſe where they were at a diſtance off us. Wee ſent from time to time to viſit them to ſee what they did. Wee gave them a fowling-peece to divert them, but one day abuſing my nephew, wee took away the Gun from them.

Going afterwards unto the fort of the Iſland, I ſent a boate unto mr Bridgar, adviſing him the captain hee deſired to ſee was come, & that hee might come with one of his men; which hee did, & as ſoon as hee was come I told him that to aſſure our Trade I was obliged to ſecure him & would commit him into the cuſtody of my nephew, unto whom I would give orders to treat him kindly & with all manner of reſpect, telling him withall that when I had put all things on board the veſſell that was in the fort, I would go & ſet it on Fier. I told him hee might ſend his man with me to his Houſe with what Orders hee thought fit. I went thither the ſame day. I told mr Bridgar's people that not being able to ſupply them any longer but with Powder only, & being redy for my departure to Cannada, it was neceſſary that thoſe that intended to ſtay ſhould ſpeak their minds, & that thoſe that deſired to go ſhould have their paſſage. I demanded their names, which they all told me except 2. I ordered them to have a great care of all things in the Houſe. I left one frenchman to obſerve them & to goe fowling, mr Bridgar's men not being uſ'd to it. Theſe Orders being given, I left mr Bridgar's houſe & croſſ'd over to the South ſide, where I met 2 of our french men a hunting. I ſent them with what fowle they had kill'd to the fort of the Iſland, where they might bee ſerviſable unto the reſt in carrying down the ſhipp & in bringing her to an anker right againſt mr Bridgar's houſe, to take on board his goods, which was accordingly don. I came by land unto the other river, &

met at the entrance of it ſeverall Indians that waited impatiently for me, how wee might adjuſt & ſetle our Trade.

They would have had my Brother-in-Law to have rated the Goods at the ſame prizes as the Engliſh did in the bottom of the Bay, & they expected alſo I would bee more kind unto them. But this would have ruined our trade; therefore I reſolved to ſtand firm in this occaſion, becaus what wee now concluded upon with theſe ſalvages touching comers would have ben a Rule for the future. The Indians being aſſembled preſently after my arrivall, & having laid out their preſents before me, being Beavors' tailes, caribou tongues dry'd, Greas of Bears, Deere, & of Elks, one of the Indians ſpake to my Brother-in-Law & mee in this wiſe: "You men that pretend to give us our Lifes, will not you let us live? You know what Beavor is worth, & the paines wee take to get it. You ſtile your ſelves our brethren, & yet you will not give us what thoſe that are not our brethren will give. Accept our preſents, or wee will come ſee you no more, but will goe unto others." I was a good while ſilent, without anſwering the compliment of this ſalvage, which made one of his companions urge me to give my anſwer; and it being that wheron our wellfare depended, & that wee muſt appeare reſolute in this occaſion, I ſaid to the Indian that preſſed me to anſwer, "To whom will thou have me anſwer? I heard a dogg bark; let a man ſpeak & hee ſhall ſee I know to defend myſelf; that wee Love our Brothers & deſerve to bee loved by them, being come hither a purpoſe to ſave your lives." Having ſaid theſe words, I roſe & drew my dagger. I took the chief of thes Indians by the haire, who had adopted me for his ſonn, & I demanded of him who hee was. Hee anſwered, "Thy father." "Well," ſaid I, "if thou art my father & doſt love me, & if thou art the chief, ſpeak for me. Thou art maſter of my Goods; this Dogg that ſpoke but now, what doth hee heare? Let him begon to his brethren, the Engliſh in the Bay; but I miſtake, hee need not goe ſo farr, hee may ſee them in the Iſland," intimating unto them that I had overcom the Engliſh. "I know very well," ſaid I, continueing my diſcours to my Indian father, "what woods are, & what 't is to leave one's wife & run the danger of dying with hunger or to bee kill'd by one's Ennemys. You avoide all theſe dangers in coming unto us, ſo that I ſee plainly 't is better for you to trade with us than with the others; yet I will have pitty on this wretch, & will ſpare his life, though hee has a deſire to goe unto our Ennemys." I cauſed a ſword-blade to bee brought me, & I ſaid unto him that ſpake, "Heere, take this, & begon to your brethren, the Engliſh; tell them my name, & that I will goe take them." There was a neceſſity I ſhould ſpeak after this rate in this juncture, or elſe our trade had ben ruin'd for ever. Submit once unto the Salvages, & they are never to bee recalled.

Having ſaid what I had a mind to ſay unto the Indian, I went to withdraw with my Brother-in-Law; but wee were both ſtop't by the chief of the Indians, who incouraged us, ſaying, Wee are men; wee force nobody; every one was free, & that hee & his Nation would hold true unto us; that hee would goe perſwade the Nations to come unto us, as hee had alredy don, by the preſents wee had ſent them by him; deſiring wee would accept of his, & that wee would trade at our own diſcretion. Therupon the Indian that ſpake, unto whom I had preſented the ſword, being highly diſpleaſ'd, ſaid hee would kill the Aſſempoits if they came downe unto us. I anſwer'd him I would march into his country & eate Sagamite in the head of the head of his grandmother, which is a great threat amongſt the Salvages, & the greateſt diſtaſt can bee given them. At the ſame inſtant I cauſ'd the preſents to be taken up & diſtributed, 3 fathom of black tobacco, among the Salvages that were content to bee our friends; ſaying, by way of diſgrace to him that appear'd oppoſit to us, that hee ſhould goe ſmoak in the country of the tame woolſs women's tobacco. I invited the others to a feaſt; after which the ſalvages traded with us for their Beavors, & wee diſmiſſed them all very well ſattisfy'd.

Having ended my buſineſs with the Indians, I imbark'd without delay to goe back, & I found the new England ſhipp at anchor over againſt Mr Bridgar's Houſe, as I had order'd. I went into the Houſe & cauſ'd an Inventory to be taken of all that was there. Then I went to the fort of the Iſland, having ſent order to my nephew to burn it. I found him there with Mr Bridgar, who would himſelf bee the firſt in ſetting the Fort a fire, of which I was glad. There being no more to doe there, I went down to the ſhipp, & found they had put everything abord. I gave Order to my Nephew at my coming away that the next day hee ſhould bring mr Bridgar along with him unto our Houſe, where being arriv'd, my Brother-in-Law, not knowing him as well as I did, made him bee ſent into the Iſland with the Captain of the new England ſhipp & his folks; of which mr Bridgar complain'd unto me next day, deſiring that I would releaſe him from thence, ſaying hee could not endure to bee with thoſe people; which I promiſ'd to doe, & in a few days after brought him unto a place I cauſ'd to bee fitted on a point on the North ſide of our River, where hee found his own men in a very good Condition. I not being yet able to overcome our Men's obſtinacy in not yeelding that I ſhould give our veſſell unto the Engliſh, Mr Bridgar propoſ'd that hee would build a Deck upon the Shallup if I would but furniſh him with materialls neceſſary for it; ſaying that if the ſhallup were but well decked & fitted, he would willingly venture to goe in her unto the Bay, rather then to accept of his paſſage for france in one of our veſſells. I offerr'd him all that hee deſir'd to that purpos, & ſtay'd with him till the ſhipp that I cauſ'd to bee fitted was arriv'd. When ſhee was come, I ſee a ſmoak on the other ſide of the River. I croſſed over, & found that it was my Indian father. I told him how glad I was to ſee him, & invited him to goe aboard, ſaying that going at my requeſt, my nephew would uſe him civilly; that they would fier a Great Gun at his arrivall, would give him ſomething to eate, would make him a preſent of Biſketts, & of 2 fathom of Tobacco. Hee ſaid I was a foole to think my people would doe all this without order. I wrote with a coale on the rind of a Tree, & gave it to him to carry aboard. Hee, ſeeing that All I ſaid unto him was punctually perform'd, was much ſurpriſ'd, ſaying wee were Divells; ſo they call thos that doe any thing that is ſtrange unto them. I return'd back to our houſes, having don with mr Bridgar.

I had ſounded the Captain of the Shipp that was in the Iſland right againſt our houſe, to know of him that, being an Engliſh man, whether hee would give a writing under his

hand

hand to conſent that mr Bridgar ſhould bee put in poſſeſſion of his ſhipp, or if hee had rather I ſhould carry her to Quebeck; but hee & his men intreated mee very earneſtly not to deliver them unto mr Bridgar, beleeving they ſhould receave better uſage of the french than of the Engliſh. I told my Brother-in-Law what the Captain ſaid, & that hee refer'd himſelf wholy unto our diſcretion.

Whilſt wee were buſy in fitting things for our departure, I found myſelf neceſſitated to compoſe a great feude that hapined betwixt my Indian father's familly & another great familly of the country. I had notice of it by a child, ſome of my Indian father's, who playing with his comrades, who quarrelling with him, one told him that hee ſhould bee kill'd, & all his Familly, in revenge of one of the familly of the Martins, that his father had kill'd; for the famillys of the Indians are diſtinguiſ'd by the names of ſundry Beaſts; & death being very affrighting unto thos people, this child came to my Houſe weeping bitterly, & after much adoe I had to make him ſpeak, hee told me how his comrade had threatned him. I thought at firſt of ſomthing elſe, & that the ſalvages had quarrel'd amongſt themſelves. Deſiring, therefore, to concern my ſelf in keeping peace amongſt them, I preſently ſent for this chief of the Indians, my adopted father, who being come according to my order, I told him the cauſe of my feare, & what his child had told me. I had no ſooner don ſpeaking, but hee leaning againſt a pillar and covering his face with his hands, hee cryed more than his child had don before; & having aſked what was the matter, after having a litle dry'd up his teares, hee told me that an Indian of another familly, intending to have ſurpriſ'd his wife, whom hee loved very tenderly, hee kill'd him, & the ſalvages that ſided to revenge the other's cauſe having chaſed him, hee was forc'd to fly, & that was it that made him meet mee about 8ber laſt; that hee continued the feare of his Ennemys' diſpleaſure, that they would come kill him.

I tould him hee ſhould not fear any thing, the frenchmen being his fathers & I his ſonn; that our king that had ſent mee thither cover'd him with his hand, expecting they ſhould all live in Peace; that I was there to ſetle him, & that I would doe it or dye; that I would require all the Indians to come in that day [that they] might know me & that hee ſhould know my intentions. Having thus ſpoke unto him, I cauſ'd a fowling-peece & 2 ketles, 3 coats, 4 ſword-blades, 4 tranches, 6 graters, 6 dozen of knives, 10 axes, 10 fathom of tobacco, 2 coverlets for women, 3 capps, ſome Powder & ſhott, & ſaid unto the ſalvage my adopted father, in preſence of his allies that were ther preſent, " Heere is that will cure the wound & dry away tears, which will make men live. I will have my brethren love one another; let 2 of you preſently goe and invite the familly of the Martins to the feaſt of amity, and make them accept my preſents. If they refuſe it & ſeek for blood, it is juſt I ſhould ſacrifice my life for my father, whom I love as I doe all the reſt of the Indians our allies, more than I doe my owne ſelfe, ſo that I am redy to lay down my head to bee cutt off in caſe my preſents did not ſerv turn, but I would ſtirr up all the frenchmen my brethren to carry Gunns to aſſiſt me to make warr againſt that familly."

The ſalvages went to goe unto the familly that was ennemy unto my adopted father to make them offer of my preſents, & in my name to invite them unto the feaſt of unity. I ſtay'd ſo litle a while in the country afterwards that I could not quite determine this differrence. In due time I will relate what upon Inquiry I farther heard of it in my laſt voyadge.

This buſineſſe being upon a matter ended, I was inform'd that mr Bridgar, contrary to his promiſe of not ſpeaking with the Indians, yet enter'd into diſcours with them & ſaid that wee were Ill people, & told them hee would come & kill us; that hee would traffick with them more to their advantage then wee did; that hee would give them 6 axes for a Bever ſkin & a fowling-peece for 5 ſkins. I taxed mr Bridgar with it; alſo I ratted the ſalvages, who promiſ'd they would go neere him no more, & that I ſhould feare nothing. Being deſirous to make all things redy for my departure, I againe croſſed over the dangerous river to goe burn. mr Bridgar's Houſe, there being nothing left remaining in it, having cauſed evry thing to bee put on board the New England ſhipp & taken a full Inventary of it before. I had along with me 3 Engliſh men & one frenchman, relying more on the Engliſh, who loved me becauſe I uſed them kindly, than I did on the ffrenchmen. What I did at this time doth ſhew the great confidence I put in the Engliſh; for had I in the leaſt diſtruſted them, I would not have ventur'd to have gon 11 Leagues from my habitation with 3 Engliſh & but one of my owne french men to have fired mr Bridgar's Houſe. Wee were very like to bee loſt in returning home. I never was in ſo great danger in all my life. Wee were ſurpriſ'd with a ſuddain ſtorm of wind neere the flats, & there was ſuch a great miſt that wee knew not where wee were.

Being return'd unto our Habitation, I found our Men had brought the ſhipp to anker neere our Houſe, & ſeeing the weather beginning to come favorable, I gave my Nephew Inſtructions to carry on the Trade in my abſence untill our Return. I left 7 men with him & the abſolute comand & diſpoſall of all things; which being don I cauſed our ffurrs to bee put on board & the ſhipp to fall down to the mouth of the river to ſet ſaile the firſt faire wind. It was where I left mr Bridgar. His ſhallup being well provided & furniſh'd with all things, hee was ready to ſaile; but having made ſome tripps from one river unto the other, the ſight of ſuch vaſt quantitys of Ice as was in thoſe ſeas made him afraide to venture himſelfe in ſo ſmall a veſſell to ſaile unto the Bay. So that wee fitting things to bee gon the 20 July, having ſent for mr Bridgar to come receave his Proviſions, hee told me hee thought it too raſh an action for him to venture himſelf ſo great a voyadge in ſo ſmall a veſſell, & deſired I would give him paſſage in our ſhipp, ſuppoſing all along that I would compell him to imbark for ffrance. I told him hee ſhould bee very welcom, & that I intended not to force him to anything but only to quitt the place. It was concluded that hee ſhould imbark with my Brother-in-Law in the ſmall veſſell. Hee ſaid hee had rather goe in the other ſhipp; but it was but juſt that the Captain ſhould continue on board, & wee could not with great reaſon take mr Bridgar on board, having allredy more Engliſh to keep then wee were french.

The 27th of July wee weighed Ankor & paſſed the flatts; but next day, having as yet ſailed but 8 or 9 Leagues, wee were forced to enter into the Ice & uſed all our Endevor not to bee farr from each other. The Bark, tacking to come, caſt her Grapers on the ſame Ice as wee faſtned unto. Shee ſplit to peeces, ſo that wee were forced to ſend preſently to their help & to take out all the goods was on board her, & to lay them on the Ice, to careen, which wee did with much difficulty. Wee continued in this danger till the 24 of Auguſt. Wee viſitted one another with all freedom; yet wee ſtood on our gard, for the Engliſhman that wee found the beginning of the winter in the ſnow, remembring how kindly hee was uſed by me, gave mee notice of a deſſigne the Engliſhmen had that were in the Bark, of cutting all the Frenchmen's throats, & that they only waited a fit opportunity to doe it. This hint made us watch them the more narrowly. At night time wee ſecured them under lock & key, & in the day time they enjoy'd their full liberty.

When wee were got to the ſouthward in the 56 Degree, mr Bridgar deſired me to let him have the Bark to goe to the Bay along with his men. I tould him I would ſpeak to my Brother-in-Law about it, who was not much againſt it. Ther was only the maſter & ſome other obſtinat fellows that oppoſed; but at length I got all to conſent, and having taken the things out, wee delivered the Bark unto Mr Bridgar, taking his receipt. It was in good will that I mannadg'd all this for him, and I thought hee would have gon in the Bark, for hee knows that I offerrd it unto him; but having made the Engliſhman that belong'd unto him, and ſince choſen to ſtay with us, and in whom wee put much confidence, to deſire leave of me to goe along with mr Bridgar, wee preſently ſuppoſed, and wee were not deceived, that 't was by his perſwaſion this ſeaman deſired to bee gon, & wee had ſome apprehenſion that mr Bridgar might have ſome deſſigne to trepan us by returning unto port Nelſon before us to ſurpriſe our people, wherunto the Engliſh ſeaman that underſtood our buſineſs might have ben very ſervicable unto him. Having therefore conferr'd amongſt ourſelves upon this Demand, wee reſolv'd to keep m^{r} Bridgar and to take him along with us unto Quebeck. Wee cauſ'd him to come out of the Bark and told him our reſolution; wherat hee flew into great paſſion, eſpetially againſt me, who was not much concerned at it. Wee cauſ'd him to come into our veſſell, and wee tould his people that they may proceed on their voyage without him, and hee ſhould come along with us; after which wee took in our graple Irons from off the Ice, ſeeing the ſea open to the weſtward and the way free'd to ſaile. Wee were diſtant about 120 leagues from the bottom of the Bay when wee parted from the Bark, who might eaſily have got ther in 8 days, and they had Proviſions on board for above a month, viz^{t}, a Barrill of Oatmealle, 42 double peeces of Beeff, 8 or 10 ſalt gees, 2 peeces of Pork, a powder Barrell full of Biſket, 8 or 10 pounds of powder, & 50 pounds of ſhott. I gave over & above, unknown to my Brother-in-Law, 2 horns full of Powder & a Bottle of Brandy, beſides a Barrill they drank the evening before wee parted. I made one of the new England ſeamen to goe on board the Bark to ſtrengthen the crew, many of them being ſickly.

Being got out of the Ice, having a favorable wind, wee ſoon got into the ſtraights, where through the negligence or the ignorance of one of our French pilots and ſeamen, the Engliſh being confin'd in the night, a ſtorm of wind & ſnow drove us into a Bay from whence wee could not get out. Wee were driven a ſhoare without any hopes of getting off;

but when wee expected evry moment to be loſt, God was pleaſed to deliver us out of this Danger, finding amongſt the Rocks wherin wee were ingadg'd the fineſt Harbour that could bee; 50 ſhipps could have layn there & ben preſerv'd without Anchor or cable in the higheſt ſtorms. Wee lay there 2 days, & having refitted our ſhipp wee ſet ſaile & had the wether pretty favorable untill wee arriv'd at Quebeck, which was the end of 8ber. As ſoon as ever wee arriv'd wee went unto Monr La Barre, Governor of Cannada, to give him an Account of what wee had don. Hee thought fit wee ſhould reſtore the ſhipp unto the new England Merchants, in warning them they ſhould goe no more unto the place from whence ſhee came.[65] Mr Bridgar imbark'd himſelf on her with young Guillem for New England againſt my mynde, for I adviſ'd him as a friend to imbark himſelf on the ffrench ſhipps, which were ready to ſaile for Rochell. I foretold him what came to paſs, that hee would lye a long while in New England for paſſage. Wee parted good ffriends, & hee can beare me witneſſe that I intimated unto him at that time my affection for the Engliſh Intreſt, &

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[65] This reſtoration did not meet with the approval of Monſr de Seignelay, for he wrote to Govr De la Barre, 10th April, 1684: "It is impoſſible to imagine what you meant, when of your own authority, without calling on the Intendant, and without carrying the affair before the Sovereign council, you cauſed to be given up to one Guillin, a veſſel captured by the men named Radiſſon and des Grozelliers, and in truth you ought to prevent the appearance before his Majeſty's eyes of this kind of proceeding, in which there is not a ſhadow of reaſon, and whereby you have furniſhed the Engliſh with matter of which they will take advantage; for by yr ordinance you have cauſed a veſſel to be reſtored that according to law ought to be conſidered a Pirate, having no commiſſion, and the Engliſh will not fail to ſay that you had ſo fully acknowledged the veſſel to have been provided with requiſite papers, that you had it ſurrendered to the owners; and will thence pretend to eſtabliſh their legitimate poſſeſſion of Nelſon's river, before the ſaid Radiſſon and des Grozeliers had been there." *New York Colonial MSS.*, Vol. IX. p. 221.

that I was ſtill of the ſame mynde of ſerving the King & the nation as fully & affectionately as I had now ſerv'd the ffrench.

Eight or tenn days after my arrivall, Monſr La Barre ſent for me, to ſhew me a letter hee had receaved from Monſr Colbert by a man-of-warr that had brought over ſome ſoldiers, by which hee writ him that thoſe which parted laſt yeare to make diſcoverys in the Northern parts of America being either returned or would ſoon return, hee deſired one of them to give the court an account of what they had don, & of what ſetlements might bee made in thoſe parts; & the Governour told me that I muſt forthwith prepare myſelf to goe ſattisfy Monſr Colbert in the buſineſs. I willingly accepted the motion, & left my buſineſs in the hands of Monſr De La Chenay, although I had not any very good opinion of him, having dealt very ill by me; but thinking I could not bee a looſer by ſattisfying the prime Miniſter of ſtate, although I neglected my owne privat affaires, I took leave of Monſr La Barre, & imbark'd for france with my Brother-in-Law, the 11° 9ber, 1683, in the frigat that brought the ſoldiers, and arrived at Rochell the 18 of Xber, where I heard of the death of monſr Colbert; yet I continued my jorney to Paris, to give the Court an account of my proceedings. I arriv'd at Paris with my Brother-in-Law the 15th January, wher I underſtood ther was great complaints made againſt me in the King's Councill by my Lord Preſton, his Majeſty's Envoy Extrordy, concerning what had paſt in the River and Port Nelſon, and that I was accuſ'd of having cruelly abuſed the Engliſh, Robbed, ſtoln, and burnt their habitation; for all which my Lord Preſton demanded ſatisfaction, and that exemplary puniſhment might bee inflicted on the offenders, to content his majeſty. This advice did not diſcourage me from preſenting myſelf before the Marquiſs De Signalay, & to inform him of all that had paſt betwixt the Engliſh and me during my voyadge. Hee found nothing amiſs in all my proceedings, wherof I made him a true relation; and ſo farr was it from being blamed in the Court of france, that I may ſay, without flattering my ſelf, it was well approved, & was comended.[86] I doe not ſay that I deſerv'd it, only that I endeavor'd, in all my proceedings, to diſcharge the part of an honneſt man, and that I think I did no other. I referr it to bee judged by what is contain'd in this narrative, which I proteſt is faithfull & ſincere; and if I have deſerved the accuſations made againſt me in the Court of ffrance, I think it needleſſe to ſay aught elſe in my juſtification; which is fully to bee ſeen in the Relation of the voyadge I made by his Majeſty's order laſt year, 1684, for the Royal Company of Hudſon's Bay; the ſucceſſe and profitable returns whereof has deſtroyed, unto the ſhame of my Ennemys, all the evell impreſſions they would have given of my actions.

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[86] Louis XIV. to De la Barre, 10 April, 1684: "The King of England has authorized his ambaſſador to ſpeak to me reſpecting what occurred in the river Nelſon between the Engliſh and Radiſſon and des Grozelliers, whereupon I am happy to inform you that, as I am unwilling to afford the King of England any cauſe of complaint, & as I think it important, nevertheleſs, to prevent the Engliſh eſtabliſhing themſelves on that river, it would be well for you to have a propoſal made to the commandant at Hudſon's Bay that neither the French nor the Engliſh ſhould have power to make any new eſtabliſhments; to which I am perſuaded he will give his conſent the more readily, as he is not in a poſition to prevent thoſe which my ſubjects wiſh to form in ſaid Nelſon's river."

VOYAGES

OF

PETER ESPRIT RADISSON.

Relation of the Voyage of Peter Eſprit Radiſſon, Anno 1684.

(*Tranſlated from the French.*)

I HAVE treated at length the narrative of my voyage in the years 1682 and 1683, in Hudſon's Bay, to the North of Canada. Up to my arrival in the city of Paris, all things were prepared for the fitting out of the ſhips with which I ſhould make my return to the North of Canada, pending the negotiations at Court for the return to me of every fourth beaver ſkin that the very Chriſtian King took for the cuſtoms duty, which had been promiſſed to me in conſideration of my diſcoveries, voyages, and ſervices; by which I hoped to profit over & above my ſhare during the firſt years of that eſtabliſhment. It was alſo at the ſame time that my Lord Viſcount Preſton, Miniſter Extraordinary from the King at the Court of France, continued to purſue me concerning the things of which I was accuſed by the account againſt me of the gentlemen of the Royal Hudſon's Bay Company; my enemies having taken due care to publiſh the enormous crimes of which I was charged, & my friends taking the pains to ſupport me under it, & to give me advice of all that paſſed. Although at laſt no longer able to ſuffer any one to tax my conduct, I conſidered myſelf obliged to undeceive each one. I reſolved at length within myſelf to ſpeak, to the effect of making it appear as if my diſſatisfaction had paſſed away. For that effect I made choice of perſons who did me the honor of loving me, and this was done in the converſations that I had with them upon the ſubject. That my heart, little given to diſſimulation, had avowed to them, on different occaſions, the ſorrow that I had felt at being obliged to abandon the ſervice of England becauſe of the bad treatment that I had received from them, & that I ſhould not be ſorry of returning to it, being more in a condition than I had been for it, of rendering ſervice to the king and the nation, if they were diſpoſed to render me juſtice and to remember my ſervices. I ſpoke alſo ſeveral times to the Engliſh Government. I had left my nephew, ſon of Sieur des Groſeilliers, my brother-in-law, with other Frenchmen, near Port Nelſon, who were there the ſole maſters of the beaver trade, which ought to be conſiderable at that port, and that it depended upon me to make it profitable for the Engliſh. All theſe things having been reported by one of my particular friends to the perſons who are in the intereſt of the Government, they judged correctly that a man who ſpoke freely in that manner, & who made no difficulty in letting his ſentiments be known, & who ſhewed by them that it was poſſible to be eaſily led back, by rendering juſtice to him, to a party that he had only abandoned thr diſſatisfaction, I was requeſted to have ſome conferences with theſe ſame perſons. I took in this matter the firſt ſtep without repugnance, & upon the report that was made to my Lord Preſton of things that we had treated upon in the interviews, & of that of which I claimed to be capable of doing, I was exhorted from his ſide of re-entering into my firſt engagements with the Engliſh; aſſuring me that if I could execute that which I had propoſed, I ſhould receive from His majesty in England, & from His Royal Highneſs of the Hudſon's Bay Company, & from the Government, all kinds of good treatment & an entire unſatisfaction; that, moreover, I need not make myſelf uneaſy of that which regarded my intereſts, this miniſter being willing himſelf to be charged with the care of me, to preſerve them, & of procuring me other advantages after that I ſhould be put in a poſition of rendering ſervice to the King his maſter. They repreſented to me again that His Royal Highneſs honoring the Hudſon's Bay Company with his protection, it would paſs even on to me if I would employ upon it my credit, my attentions, & the experience that I had in the country of the North, for the utility & the benefit of the affairs of that Company, in which His Royal Highneſs took great intereſt.

At the ſame time I received ſome letters at Paris from the Sieur Ecuyer Young, one of thoſe intereſted in the Hudſon's Bay Company, in which he ſolicited me on his part, & in the name of the Company, to return into England, giving me ſome aſſurances of a good reception, & that I ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied on my part in regard to my particular intereſts, as well as for ſome advantages that they would make me. Theſe letters, joined to thoſe in which my Lord Preſton continued his urgencies againſt me to the very Chriſtian King, decided me to determine, by the counſel of one of my friends, to yield myſelf at laſt to all their ſolicitations of paſſing over to England for good, & of engaging myſelf ſo ſtrongly to the ſervice of His Majeſty, & to the intereſts of the Nation, that any other conſideration was never able to detach me from it. There was only my Lord Preſton, ſome of his houſehold, & the friend who had counſelled me to come into England, who knew of my deſign. I took care to ſave appearances from ſuſpicion by the danger in which I expoſed myſelf, & up to the evening of my departure I had ſome conferences with the miniſters of the Court of France, & the perſons who there have the departments of the marine & commerce, upon ſome propoſitions of armament, & the Equipment of the Ships deſtined for my 2nd voyage. They wiſhed to bind me to make them upon the ſame footing as the preceeding, which has made ſince then the talk of the two nations.

The day of my departure was fixed for the 24th of April, 1684; but at laſt, that thoſe with whom I was obliged to confer daily by order of the Miniſters of France never doubted in the leaſt of my diſcontinuing to ſee them, I told them that I was obliged to make a little journey into the country for ſome family buſineſs, & I could be uſeful to them during that time by going to London, where I arrived the 10th of May.

At the moment of my arrival I had the honor of going to ſee the gentlemen, Ecuyer Young and the Chevalier

Hayes, both of whom were intereſted in the Hudſon's Bay Company, who gave me a good reception in ſhowing me the joy that they felt at my return, & in giving me ſuch aſſurances that I ſhould receive on their part & on that of their company all manner of ſatisfaction. I then explained fully to them the nature of the ſervice that I expected to render to His Majeſty, to the Company, & to the Nation, in eſtabliſhing the Beaver trade in Canada & making thoſe to profit by it who were intereſted, to the extent of 15 or 20,000 Beaver ſkins that I hoped to find already in the hands of the French that I had left there, that would coſt to them only the Intereſt that I had in the thing, & the juſt ſatisfaction that was owing to the French who had made the trade for them.

Theſe gentlemen having received in an agreeable manner my propoſition, & wiſhing to give me ſome marks of their ſatisfaction, did me the honour of preſenting me to His Majeſty & to His Royal Highneſs, to whom I made my ſubmiſſion, the offer of my very humble ſervices, a ſincere proteſtation that I would do my duty, that even to the peril of my life I would employ all my care & attention for the advantage of the affairs of the Company, & that I would ſeek all occaſions of giving proof of my zeal & inviolable fidelity for the ſervice of the King, of all which His Majeſty & His Royal Highneſs appeared ſatisfied, & did me the favour of honouring me with ſome evidences of their ſatisfaction upon my return, & of giving me ſome marks of their protection.

After that I had ſeveral conferences in the aſſembled body, & in particular with the gentlemen intereſted in the Hudſon's Bay Company, in which I made them acquainted in what manner it was neceſſary for them to proceed there for eſtabliſhing to the beſt advantage the Beaver trade in the Northern country, the means of properly ſuſtaining it, & of ruining in a ſhort time the trade with foreigners, & to that end I would commence by becoming maſter of both the fort & the ſettlement of the French, as well as of all the furs that they had traded for ſince my departure, on the condition that my influence would ſerve to convert them, & that my nephew whom I had left commandant in that fort & the other French would be paid what would be to them their legitimate due. Theſe gentlemen, ſatisfied with what I had ſaid to them, believed with juſtice that they would be able to have entire confidence in me. As for that, having reſolved to entruſt me with their orders for going with their ſhipps, equipped & furniſhed with everything to found that eſtabliſhment in putting into execution my projects, they gave the power of ſettling in my own mind & conſcience the claims of my nephew & the other French, aſſuring me that they would be ſatisfied with the account that I would preſent to them. I accepted that commiſſion with the greateſt pleaſure in the world, and I hurried with ſo much diligence the neceſſary things for my departure, that in leſs than eight days I was in a condition to embark myſelf. This was done even without any precaution on my part for my own intereſts, for I did not wiſh to make any compoſition with theſe gentlemen. I ſaid to them that ſince they had confidence in me, I wiſhed alſo on my part to make uſe of it generouſly with them and remit everything to the ſucceſs of my voyage, and on my return, in the hope that I had that they would ſatisfy my honeſty of purpoſe, and that after having given to them ſome marks of my ſincerity in executing the things to perform which I had engaged myſelf for their ſervice, they would render me all the juſtice that I had cauſe for hoping from gentlemen of honour and probity. The ſhips deſtined for Hudſon's Bay and the execution of my deſign were ready to make ſail, & myſelf being all prepared for embarking, I took leave of the gentlemen of the Company in giving them freſh aſſurances of the good ſucceſs of my voyage if God did me the favour of preſerving me from the dangers to which I went to expoſe myſelf; of which they appeared ſo well ſatisfied that the Chevalier Hayes dared not flatter himſelf of the advantage that I promiſſed to him, that they ſhould get from 15 to 20,000 Beavers that I hoped to find in the hands of the French, ſaid, in embracing me, that the company would be ſatisfied if I had only 5,000 of them there.

The event has juſtified that which I predicted, and theſe gentlemen have not been deceived in the hopes that I have given to them. I departed from the port of Graveſend the 17th of the ſame month of May, in the ſhip called "The Happy Return," in the company of 2 others that theſe gentlemen ſent alſo to Port Nelſon for the ſame reaſon. The winds having been favourable for us, we arrived in a few days upon the weſtern ſide of Buttons Bay without anything happening to us worth mentioning, but the winds and the currents. We having been made to drift to the South of Port Nelſon about 40 leagues, and the ice having ſeparated the ſhip in which I was from the 2 others in Hudſon's Straits, I began to doubt of ſucceeding in my enterpriſe by the apprehenſion that I had that the 2 ſhips having arrived ſooner than ours the men who were inſide would not hazard themſelves to take any ſtep which could at all do them any damage. Under this anxiety, knowing the neceſſity that there was that I ſhould arrive the firſt, I reſolved to embark myſelf in a ſhallop that we had brought to be employed in any ſervice that might be neceſſary. I ordered the captain to equip it, and although but little more than 20 leagues from Port Nelſon, I put myſelf on board with 7 men, and after 48 hours of fatigue, without having been able to take any reſt becauſe of the danger that there was to us, we found by the breadth of Hayes river, which having recognized, at laſt we touched land at a point north of the river, where we landed with an Engliſhman who ſpoke good french, whom I wiſhed to make accompany me in order that he might be the witneſs of all that I did.

After having come to land I recognized by certain marks that my nephew, having heard the noiſe of the cannon of the Engliſh ſhips, had come to the place where we landed to know if his father or myſelf were arrived, and that he had himſelf returned after having recognized that they were Engliſh ſhipps. Theſe ſame marks gave me alſo to know that he had left me further away from thoſe that I had given him ſince I had eſtabliſhed him for Governor in my abſence. The which ſhould inform me of his condition and the place where he was with his men; but I did not find it to the purpoſe of going as far as that place, that I had not learned truly the condition of the Engliſh who had arrived in the country ſince I had departed from it. I reſolved then to embark myſelf afreſh in the ſhallop to go and learn ſome news. I encouraged for that purpoſe the 7 men who were with me, who were ſo diligent that in ſpite of a contrary wind and tide we arrived in a very little time at the mouth of that great and frightful river of Port Nelſon, where I had wiſhed to ſee myſelf with ſuch impatience that I had not dreamed a moment of the danger to which we had expoſed ourſelves. That pleaſure was ſoon followed by another; for I ſaw at anchor in this ſame place 2 ſhips, of which one had the glorious flag of His Majeſty hoiſted upon his main maſt, that I recognized to be the one that was commanded by Captain Outlaw when the one in which I was paſſed had been ſeparated from the 2 others. At the ſame time I made the ſhallop approach & I perceived the new Governor with all his men under arms upon the deck, who demanded of us where our ſhallop came from, and who we were. Upon that I made myſelf known, & I went on board the ſhip, where I learned that the one which was alongſide was an Engliſh frigate that had wintered in the Port of Nelſon with the Governor, which port they had abandoned to retire themſelves for fear of being inſulted by the French & the ſavages; but that having been met with by Cap^t^ Outlaw going out of the bay, he had returned, having learned that I had thrown myſelf into the ſervice of England, and that I came into the country to re-eſtabliſh there everything to the advantage of the nation.

My firſt care after that was of making myſelf informed of what had paſſed between the Engliſh & the French ſince my departure & their arrival. By what the Engliſh told me I judged that it was proper to riſque everything to try to join my nephew as ſoon as poſſible, & the men that I had left with him; in fine, of endeavouring to reach them by kindneſs, or to intercept them by cunning, before they received the ſhock upon what deſign I came, for that was of extreme conſequence. Thus without waiting for the arrival of the ſhip in which I had come, I reſolved to embark myſelf upon the ſame ſhallop, which was named "The Little Adventure;" which I did not, nevertheleſs, on the ſame day, becauſe the Governor found it proper to delay the party until the following day, & of giving me other men in the place of thoſe that I had brought, who found themſelves fatigued. I embarked myſelf on the morrow, early in the morning, with Captain Gazer; but the wind being found contrary, I had myſelf landed on the coaſt, with Captain Gazer & the Engliſhman who ſpoke French, & after having ſent back the ſhallop with the other men, I reſolved to go by land as far as the place where I ſhould find the marks of my nephew, which ſhould make me recogniſe the place where he was & his condition. We marched, all three, until the morrow morning; but being arrived at the place where I had told my nephew to leave me ſome marks, which having taken up, I learned that he & his men had left our old houſes & that they had built themſelves another of them upon an iſland above the rapids of the river Hayes. After that we continued our route until oppoſite to the houſes which had been abandoned, where I hoped that we ſhould diſcover ſomething, or at leaſt that we ſhould make ourſelves ſeen or heard by firing ſome reports of the gun & making of ſmoke; in which my attempt was not altogether vain, for after having reſted ſome time in that place we perceived 10 canoes of ſavages, who deſcended the river. I believed at firſt that it would be probable they had there ſome French with them; that my nephew would be able to ſend to diſcover who were the people newly arrived, which obliged me to tell Captain Gazer that I ſhould go down to the bank of the river to ſpeak to them; that I prayed him to await me upon the heights without any apprehenſion, & that in a little while he would be able to render evidence of my fidelity for the ſervice of the Company. I was at the ſame moment met by the ſavages, & from the bank of the river I made them the accuſtomed ſignal, to the end of obliging them to come towards me; but having perceived that they did not put themſelves to the trouble of doing it, I ſpoke to them in their language, for to make myſelf known; which done, they approached the bank, & not recogniſing me, they demanded of me to ſee the marks that I had; which having ſhown them, they gave evidence, by their cries & poſtures of diverſion, the pleaſure that they had of my arrival. I learned then from them that my nephew & the other Frenchmen were above the rapids of the river, diſtant about 4 leagues from the place where I was, & that they had told them that my brother-in-law, des Groiſillé, ſhould alſo come with me; which obliged me telling them that he was arrived, & that they would ſee him in a few days. Then I told them that we had always loved them as our brothers, & that I would give them ſome marks of my amity, for which they thanked me in begging me to not be angry for that which, by counſel, they had been trading with the Engliſh, nor of that when I found them going to meet their captain, who had gone acroſs ſome woods, with 20 men, to the Engliſh ſhips, to procure ſome powder & guns, which they did; that their laying over for a month, in awaiting for me, had compelled them, but that ſince I had arrived they would not go on farther, & that their chief, whom they went to inform of my arrival, would ſpeak more of it to me. As I had occaſion for ſome one among them to inform my nephew that I was in the country, I aſked of all of them if they loved the ſon of des Groiſillé, & if he had not ſome relation among them; upon which there was one of them who ſaid to me, "He is my ſon; I am ready to do that which thou wiſheſt;" & at that moment, he having landed, I made him throw his Beaver ſkin on the ground, & after having called Captain Gazer, I ſpoke in theſe terms to this ſavage in the preſence of all the others: "I have made peace with the Engliſh for love of you. They & I from henceforth ſhall be but one. Embrace this captain & myſelf in token of peace. He is thy new brother, & this one thy ſon. Go at once to him to carry this news, with the token of peace, & tell him to come to ſee me in this place here, whilſt the ſavages of the Company go to attend me to the mouth of the river."

This ſavage did not fail to go & inform his ſon, my nephew, of my arrival, & of carrying to him the news of peace between the French & the Engliſh, during which we awaited with impatience his deſcent towards the place where we were; whom, nevertheleſs, did not arrive until the morrow, about 9 o'clock in the morning. I ſaw at firſt appear my nephew, in a canoe with 3 other Frenchmen, accompanied by another canoe of the ſavages that I had ſent, & which came in advance to inform me of the arrival of my nephew. I promiſed to this ſavage & his comrade each one a watch-coat, & returned to them their Beaver ſkins, with the order of going to join thoſe of their nation,

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& to wait for me at the mouth of the river. After that, Captain Gazer, the Engliſhman who ſpoke French, & myſelf waded into the water half-leg deep to land upon a little iſland where my nephew, with his men, would come on ſhore. He had arrived there before us, & he came to meet us, ſaluting me, greatly ſurpriſed at the union that I had made with the Engliſh. We then proceeded all together in his canoe as far as our old houſes, where I had the Engliſh and French to enter, & whilſt they entertained each other with the recital of their mutual hardſhips, I ſpoke privately to my nephew in theſe terms: —

"It is within your recollection, without doubt, of having heard your father relate how many pains & fatigues we have had in ſerving France during ſeveral years. You have alſo been informed by him that the recompenſe we had reaſon to hope for from her was a black ingratitude on the part of the Court as well as on the part of the company of Canada; & that they having reduced us to the neceſſity of ſeeking to ſerve elſewhere, the Engliſh received us with evidences of pleaſure & of ſatisfaction. You know alſo the motives that have obliged your father & myſelf, after 13 years of ſervice, to leave the Engliſh. The neceſſity of ſubſiſting, the refuſal that ſhowed the bad intention of the Hudſon's Bay Company to ſatisfy us, have given occaſion to our ſeparation, & to the eſtabliſhment that we have made, & for which I left you in poſſeſſion in parting for France. But you ignore, without doubt, that the Prince who reigns in England had diſavowed the proceedings of the Company in regard to us, & that he had cauſed us to be recalled to his ſervice, to receive the benefits of his Royal protection, & a complete ſatisfying of our own diſcontents. I have left your father in England, happier than we in this, that he is aſſured of his ſubſiſtance, and that he commences to taſte ſome repoſe; whilſt I come to inform you that we are now Engliſhmen, & that we have preferred the goodneſs & kindneſs of a clement & eaſy king, in following our inclinations, which are to ſerve people of heart & honour in preference to the offers that the King of France cauſed to be made to us by his miniſters, to oblige us to work indirectly for his glory. I received an order, before leaving London, of taking care of you, & of obliging you to ſerve the Engliſh nation. You are young, & in a condition to work profitably for your fortune. If you are reſolved to follow my ſentiments I never will abandon you. You will receive the ſame treatment as myſelf. I will participate even at the expenſe of my intereſts for your ſatisfaction. I will have a care alſo of thoſe who remain under my control in this place with you, & I ſhall leave nothing undone that will be able to contribute to your advancement. I love you; you are of my blood. I know that you have courage & reſolution; decide for yourſelf promptly, & make me ſee by your reſponſe, that I wait for, that you are worthy of the goodneſs of the clement prince that I ſerve; but do not forget, above all things, the injuries that the French have inflicted upon one who has given his life to you, & that you are in my power."

When my nephew had heard all that I had to ſay to him, he proteſted to me that he had no other ſentiments but mine, & that he would do all that I would wiſh of him, but that he begged me to have care of his mother; to which I anſwered that I had not forgotten that ſhe was my ſiſter, & that the confidence that he gave me evidence of had on that occaſion impoſed upon me a double engagement, which obliged me of having care of her & of him; with which, having been ſatisfied, he remitted to me the power of commandant that I had left to him, & having embraced him, I ſaid to him that he ſhould appear in the aſſembly of the Engliſh & French as ſatisfied as he ſhould be, & leave the reſt to my management. After which we re-entered into the houſe, & I commanded one of the Frenchmen to go out immediately & inform his comrades that all would go well if they ſhould have an entire confidence in me & obey all my orders, which doing, they ſhould want nothing. I ordered alſo this ſame Frenchman to inform the ſavages to come to me & work immediately with their comrades to bring back into the houſe newly built the Beaver ſkins buried in the wood; & to that end, to be able to work with more diligence, I told them I would double their rations. Then I told my nephew to croſs the river with the Frenchman who ſerved him as interpreter, & go by land to the north ſide at the rendezvous that I had given to the ſavages the preceding day, whilſt I would make my way by water to the ſame meeting-place with Captain Gazer & 2 other men who remained with me; the which having embarked in my nephew's canoe, I deſcended the river as far as the mouth, where I found the ſavages, who awaited me with impatience, they having been joined the following day by 30 other canoes of ſavages that I had had warned to deſcend, by their captain who had come towards me. We were all together in the canoes of the ſavages & boarded ſome ſhips which were ſtranded upon Nelſon's River.

This was in that ſtrait that the chief of the ſavages ſpoke to me of many things, & who after having received from my hands one of the preſents deſigned for the chief of theſe nations, he told me that he & his people would ſpeak of my name to all the nations, to invite them to come to me to ſmoke the pipe of peace; but he blamed ſtrongly the Engliſh Governor for telling him that my brother had been made to die, that I was a priſoner, & that he had come to deſtroy the reſt of the French. The chief of the ſavages added to the blame his complaint alſo. He ſaid haughtily that the Governor was unworthy of his friendſhip & of thoſe of their old brothers who commenced to eſtabliſh it amongſt them, in telling them ſuch falſehoods. Grumbling & paſſion had a ſhare in his indignation. He offered ſeveral times to inflict injuries upon the governor, who endeavoured to juſtify himſelf for theſe things that he had ſaid to them thr° imprudence againſt the truth. But the chief ſavage would not hear anything in his defenſe, neither of thoſe of the other Engliſhmen there; all of them were become under ſuſpicion. Neverthelesſ I appeaſed this difference by the authority that I have upon the ſpirit of theſe nations; & after having made the governor & the chief embrace, & having myſelf embraced both of them, giving the ſavage to underſtand that it was a ſign of peace, I ſaid to him alſo that I wiſhed to make a feaſt for this ſame peace, & that I had given orders what they ſhould have to eat.

On ſuch ſimilar occaſions the ſavages have the cuſtom of making a ſpeech precede the feaſt, which conſiſts in recogniſing for their brothers thoſe with whom they make peace, & praiſe their ſtrength. After having informed the chief of the ſavages of the experience, ſtrength, valour of the Engliſh nation, he acquitted himſelf with much judgment in that action, for which he was applauded by our and his own people. I ſaid afterwards in preſence of his people that the French were not good ſeamen, that they were afraid of the icebergs which they would have to paſs acroſs to bring any merchandiſe, beſides that their ſhips were weak & incapable of reſiſtance in the northern ſeas; but as to thoſe of the Engliſh, they were ſtrong, hardy, & enterpriſing, that they had the knowledge of all ſeas, & an infinite number of large & ſtrong ſhips which carried for them merchandiſes in all weathers & without ſtoppage. Of which this chief, having full evidence, was ſatisfied.

He came to dine with us whilſt his people were eating together of that which I had ordered to be given them. The repaſt being finiſhed, it was a queſtion with me whether I ſhould commence to open a trade; & as I had formed the deſign of aboliſhing the cuſtom which the Engliſh had introduced ſince I had left their ſervice, which was of giving ſome preſents to the ſavages to draw them to our ſide, which was oppoſed to that that I had practiſed, for in place of giving ſome preſents I had myſelf made, I ſaid then to the chief of the ſavages in the preſence of thoſe of his nation, "that he ſhould make me preſents that I ordinarily received on ſimilar occaſions." Upon that they ſpoke between themſelves, & at length they preſented me with 60 ſkins of Beaver, in aſking me to accept them as a ſign of our ancient friendſhip, & of conſidering that they were poor & far removed from their country; that they had faſted ſeveral days in coming, & that they were obliged to faſt alſo in returning; that the French of Canada made them preſents to oblige them to open their parcels; & that the Engliſh at the bottom of the bay gave to all the nations 3 hatchets for a Beaver ſkin. They added to that, that the Beaver was very difficult to kill, & that their miſery was worthy of pity.

I replied to them that I had compaſſion for their condition, & that I would do all that was in my power to relieve them; but that it was much more reaſonable that they made me ſome preſents rather than I to them, becauſe that I came from a country very far more removed than they to carry to them excellent merchandiſe; that I ſpared them the trouble of going to Quebec; & as to the difference in the trade of the Engliſh at the bottom of the Bay with ours, I told them that each was the maſter of that which belonged to him, & at liberty to diſpoſe of it according to his pleaſure; that it mattered very little of trading with them, ſince I had for my friends all the other nations; that thoſe there were the maſters of my merchandiſes who yielded themſelves to my generoſity for it; that there were 30 years that I had been their brother, & that I would be in the future their father if they continued to love me, but that if they were of other ſentiments, I was very eaſy about the future; that I would cauſe all the nations around to be called, to carry to them my merchandiſes; that the gain that they would receive by the ſuccour rendered them powerful & placed them in a condition to diſpute the paſſage to all the ſavages who dwelt in the lands; that by this means they would reduce themſelves to lead a languiſhing life, & to ſee their wives & children die by war or by famine, of which their allies, although powerful, could not guarantee them of it, becauſe I was informed that they had neither knives nor guns.

This diſcourſe obliged theſe ſavages to ſubmit themſelves to all that I wiſhed; ſo that ſeeing them diſpoſed to trade, I ſaid to them that as they had an extreme need of knives & guns, I would give them 10 knives for one Beaver, although the maſter of the earth, the King, my ſovereign, had given me orders to not give but 5 of them, & that as for the guns, I would give them one of them for 12 Beavers; which they went to accept, when the Governor, through fear or imprudence, told them that we demanded of them but 7 & up to 10 Beavers for each gun, which was the reaſon that it was made neceſſary to give them to the ſavages at that price. The trade was then made with all manner of tranquillity & good friendſhip. After which theſe people took their leave of us very well ſatisfied according to all appearances, as much in general as in particular of our proceeding, & the chief as well as the other ſavages promiſſed us to return in token of their ſatisfaction. But at the moment that they went to leave, my nephew having learned from a chief of a neighbouring nation who was with them that they would not return, he drew aſide the ſavage chief & told him that he had been informed that he did not love us, & that he would return no more. At which this chief ſeemed very much ſurpriſed in demanding who had told him that. My nephew ſaid to him, " It is the ſavage called Bear's Greaſe;" which having heard, he made at the ſame time all his people range themſelves in arms, ſpeaking to one & to the other; in fine, obligeing the one who was accuſed to declare himſelf with the firmneſs of a man of courage, without which they could do nothing with him, but Bear's Greaſe could ſay nothing in reply. Jealouſy, which prevails as much alſo among theſe nations as among Chriſtians, had given place to this report, in which my nephew had placed belief becauſe he knew that the conduct of the Governor towards them had given to them as much of diſcontent againſt us all as he had cauſed loſs to the Company; the genius of theſe people being that one ſhould never demand whatever is juſt, that is to ſay, that which one wiſhes to have for each thing that one trades for, & that when one retracts, he is not a man. That makes it clear that there are, properly, only the people who have knowledge of the manners & cuſtoms of theſe nations who are capable of trading with them, to whom firmneſs & reſolution are alſo extremely neceſſary. I myſelf again attended on this occaſion, to the end of appeaſing this little difference between the Savages, & I effected their reconciliation, which was the reaſon that their chief proteſted to me afreſh in calling me "Porcupine's Head," which is the name that they have given me among them, that he would always come to me to trade, & that whereas I had ſeen him but with a hundred of his young men, he would bring with him 13 different nations, & that he wanted nothing in his country, neither men nor beaver ſkins, for my ſervice; after which they left us, & we diſperſed ourſelves to go and take poſſeſſion of the houſe of my nephew in the manner that I had arranged with him for it.

With this in view I parted with the Governor, Captain Gazer, & our people to go by land as far as the place where we had left one of our canoes upon the river Hayes, whilſt the other party went by ſea with the ſhallop, "the Adventure," to round the point. We had the pleaſure of contemplating at our eaſe the beauty of the country & of its ſhores, with which the Governor was charmed by the difference that there was in the places that he had ſeen upon Nelſon's river.

We embarked ourſelves then in the canoe juſt at the place where the French had built their new houſe, where we found thoſe who were left much advanced in the work that I had ordered them to do, but, however, very inquiet on account of having no news from my nephew, their commandant, nor of me. They had carried all the beaver ſkins from the wood into the houſe & punctually executed all my other orders.

Having then ſeen myſelf maſter of all things without having been obliged to come to any extremity for it, the French being in the diſpoſition of continueing their allegiance to me, I made them take an Inventory of all that was in the houſe, where I found 239 packages of beaver ſkins, to the number of 12,000 ſkins, and ſome merchandiſe for trading yet for 7 or 8,000 more, which gave me much ſatiſfaction. Then I told my nephew to give a command in my name to theſe ſame Frenchmen to bring down the beaver ſkins as far as the place where they ſhould be embarked to tranſport them to the ſhips, which was executed with ſo much diligence that in 6 days eight or ten men did (in ſpite of difficulties which hindered them that we could go in that place but by canoes becauſe of the rapidity & want of water that they had in the river) what others would have had trouble in doing in 6 months, without any exaggeration.

My nephew had in my abſence choſen this place where he built the new houſe that was, ſo to ſpeak, inacceſſible, to the end of guaranteeing himſelf from the attacks that they would be able to make againſt him; & it was that ſame thing which reſtrained the liberty of going & coming there freely & eaſily. The ſavages with whom we had made the trading, not having made ſo much diligence on their route as we, for returning themſelves into their country, having found out that I was in our houſe, came to me there to demand ſome tobacco, becauſe that I had not given them any of that which was in the ſhips, becauſe that it was not good, making as an excuſe that it was at the bottom of the cellar. I made them a preſent of ſome that my nephew had to ſpare, of which they were ſatisfied; but I was ſurpriſed on ſeeing upon the ſands, in my walk around the houſe with the governor, rejected quantities of an other tobacco, which had been, according to appearances, thus thrown away through indignation. I turned over in my mind what could have poſſibly given occaſion for this, when the great chief & captain of the ſavages came to tell me that ſome young men of the band, irritated by the recollection of that which the Engliſh had ſaid to them, that my brother, des Groſeilliers, was dead, that I was a priſoner, & that they were come to make all the other Frenchmen periſh, as well as ſome reports of cannon that they had fired with ball in the wood the day that I was arrived, had thus thrown away this tobacco which had come from the Engliſh by miſtake, not wiſhing to ſmoke any of it. He aſſured me alſo that the young men had wicked deſigns upon the Engliſh; that he had diverted them from it by hindering them from going out of the houſe.

The Governor, who had difficulty in believing that this tobacco thrown upon the ſands was the omen of ſome grievous enterpriſe, was nevertheleſs convinced of it by the diſcourſe of the ſavage. I begged him to come with me into the houſe, & to go out from it no more, with the other Engliſh, for ſome time; aſſuring them, nevertheleſs, that they had nothing to fear, & that all the French & myſelf would periſh rather than ſuffer that one of them ſhould be in the leaſt inſulted. After which I ordered my nephew to make all thoſe ſavages imbark immediately, ſo as to continue their journey as far as their own country, which was done. Thus we were delivered from all kinds of apprehenſion, & free to work at our buſineſs.

In the mean while I could not admire enough the conſtancy of my nephew & of his men in that in which they themſelves laboured to diſpoſſeſs themſelves of any but good in favour of the Engliſh, their old enemies, for whom they had juſt pretenſions, without having any other aſſurances of their ſatisfaction but the confidence that they had in my promiſes. Beſides, I could not prevent myſelf from ſhowing the pleaſure that I experienced in having ſucceeded in my enterpriſe, & of ſeeing that in commencing to give ſome proofs of my zeal for the ſervice of the Engliſh Company I made it profit them by an advantage very conſiderable; which gave them for the future aſſurances of my fidelity, & obliged them to have care of my intereſts in giving me that which belonged to me legitimately, & acquitting me towards my nephew & the other French of that which I had promiſſed them, & that a long & laborious work had gained for them. After that, that is to ſay, during the 3 days that we reſted in that houſe, I wiſhed to inform myſelf exactly, from my nephew, in the preſence of the Engliſhmen, of all that which had paſſed between them ſince that I had departed from the country, & know in what manner he had killed two Engliſhmen there; upon which my nephew began to ſpeak in theſe words: —

"Some days after your departure, in the year 1683, the 27th of July, the number of reports of cannon-ſhots that we heard fired on the ſide of the great river made us believe that they came from ſome Engliſh ſhip that had arrived. In fact, having ſent 3 of my men to know, & endeavour to underſtand their deſign, I learned from them on their return that it was 2 Engliſh ſhips, & that they had encountered 3 men of that nation a league from theſe veſſels, but that they had not ſpoken to them, having contented themſelves with ſaluting both. As my principal deſign was to diſcover the Engliſh ones, & that my men had done nothing in it, I ſent back 3 others of them to inform themſelves of all that paſſed. Theſe 3 laſt, having arrived at the point which is between the 2 Rivers of Nelſon & Hayes, they met 14 or 15 ſavages loaded with merchandiſe, to whom, having demanded from whence they were & from whence they had come, they had replied that their nation lived along the river called Nenoſavern, which was at the South of that of Hayes, & that they came to trade with their brothers, who were eſtabliſhed at the bottom of the Bay; after which my men told them who they were and where they lived, in begging them to come ſmoke with them ſome tobacco the moſt eſteemed in the country; to which they freely conſented, in making it appear to them that they were much chagrined in not having known ſooner that we were eſtabliſhed near them, giving evidence that they would have been well pleaſed to have made their trade with us.

"In continueing to converſe upon ſeveral things touching trade, they arrived together in our houſe, reſerving each time that but one of them ſhould enter at once; which under a pretext of having forgotten ſomething, one had returned upon his ſteps, ſaying to his comrades that they had leave to wait for him at the houſe of the French, where he arrived 2 days after, to be the witneſs of the good reception that I made to his brothers, whom I made alſo participants in giving to him ſome tobacco; but I diſcovered that this ſavage had had quite another deſign than of going to ſeek that which he had loſt, having learned that he had been heard telling the other ſavages that he had been to find the Engliſh, & that he was charged by them of making ſome enterpriſe againſt us. In fact, this villain, having ſeen me alone & without any defence, muſt ſet himſelf to execute his wicked deſign. He ſeized me by the hand, & in telling me that I was of no value ſince I loved not the Engliſh, & that I had not paid him by a preſent for the poſſeſſion of the country that I lived in to him who was the chief of all the nations, & the friend of the Engliſh at the bottom of the Bay, he let fall the robe which covered him, & ſtanding all naked he ſtruck me a blow with his poniard, which I luckily parried with the hand, where I received a light wound, which did not hinder me from ſeizing him by a necklace that he had around his neck, & of throwing him to the ground; which having given me the leiſure of taking my ſword & looking about, I perceived that the other ſavages had alſo poniards in their hands, with the exception of one, who cried out, 'Do not kill the French; for their death will be avenged, by all the nations from above, upon all our families.'

"The movement that I had made to take my ſword did not prevent me from holding my foot upon the throat of my enemy, & knew that that poſture on my ſword had frightened the other conſpirators. There was none of them there who dared approach; on the contrary, they all went out of the houſe armed with their poniards. But ſome Frenchmen who were near to us, having perceived things thus, they ran in a fury right to the houſe, where having entered, the ſavages threw their poniards upon the ground in ſaying to us that the Engliſh had promiſſed to their chief a barrel of powder & other merchandiſe to kill all the French; but that their chief being dead, for they believed in fact that he was ſo, we had nothing more to fear, becauſe that they were men of courage, abhorring wicked actions. My people, having ſeen that I was wounded, put themſelves into a ſtate to lay violent hands on the ſavages; but I prevented any diſturbance, wiſhing by that generouſity, & in ſparing his life to the chief, to give ſome proofs of my courage, & that I did not fear neither the Engliſh there nor themſelves. After which they left us, & we reſolved to put ourſelves better upon our guard in the future, & of making come to our relief the ſavages our allies.

"Some days after, theſe ſavages, by the ſmoke of our fires, which were our ordinary ſignals, arrived at our houſe. According to their cuſtom, they having been appriſed of my adventure, without ſaying anything to us, marched upon the track of the other ſavages, & having overtaken them, they invited them to a feaſt, in order to know from them the truth of the things; of which having been informed, the one among them who was my adopted brother-in-law ſpoke to the chief who had wiſhed to aſſaſſinate me thus, as has been reported to me by him: 'Thou art not a man, becauſe that having about thee 15 of thy people thou haſt tried to accompliſh the end of killing a ſingle man.' To which the other replied haughtily, & with impudence, 'It is true; but if I have miſſed him this autumn with the fifteen men, he ſhall not eſcape in the ſpring by my own hand alone.' 'It is neceſſary,' then replied my adopted brother-in-law, 'that thou makeſt me die firſt; for without that I ſhall hinder thy wicked deſign.' Upon which, having come within reach, the chief whoſe life I had ſpared received a blow of a bayonet in the ſtomach, & another of a hatchet upon the head, upon which he fell dead upon the ſpot. In reſpect to the others, they did not retaliate with any kind of bad treatment, & they allowed them to retire with all liberty, in ſaying to them that if they were in the deſign of revenging the death of their chief, they had only to ſpeak, & they would declare war upon them.

" After that expedition theſe ſame ſavages our allies divided into two parties, & without telling us their deſign deſcended to the place where the Engliſh made their eſtabliſhment; they attacked them & killed ſome of them, of which they then came to inform me, in telling me that they had killed a great number of my enemies to avenge me of the conſpiracy that they had done me & my brother, and that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives for my ſervice; in recognition of which I thanked them & made them a feaſt, begging them not to kill any more of them, & to await the return of my father & my uncle, who would revenge upon the Engliſh the inſult which they had made me, without their tarniſhing the glory that they had merited in chaſtiſing the Engliſh & the ſavages, their friends, of their perfidy. We were nevertheleſs always upon the defenſive, & we apprehended being ſurpriſed at the place where we were as much on the part of the Engliſh, as of thoſe of the ſavages, their friends; that is why we reſolved of coming to eſtabliſh ourſelves in the place where we are at preſent, & which is, as you ſee, difficult enough of acceſs for all thoſe who have not been enſlaved as we are amongſt the ſavages. We built there this houſe in a few days with the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, & for ſtill greater ſecurity we obliged ſeveral among them to paſs the winter with us on the condition of our feeding them, which was the reaſon that our young men parted in the ſummer, having almoſt conſumed all our proviſions. During the winter nothing worthy of mention paſſed, except that ſome ſavages made ſeveral juggles to know from our Manitou, who is their familiar ſpirit among them, if my father and my uncle would return in the ſpring; who anſwered them that they would not be miſſing there, and that they would bring with them all kinds of merchandiſe and of that which would avenge them on their enemies.

"At the beginning of April, 1684, ſome ſavages from the South coaſt arrived at our new houſe to trade for guns; but as we had none of them they went to the Engliſh, who had, as I afterwards learned, made them ſome preſents & promiſſed them many other things if they would undertake to kill me with the one of my men whom you ſaw ſtill wounded, who ſpoke plainly the language of the country. Theſe ſavages, encouraged by the hope of gain, accepted the propoſition and promiſſed to execute it. For that means they found an opportunity of gaining over one of the ſavages who was among us, who ſerved them as a ſpy, and informed them of all that we did. Neverthelеſs they dared not attack us with open force, becauſe they feared us, & that was the reaſon why they proceeded otherwiſe in it; and this is how it was to be done.

"The Frenchman that you ſaw wounded, having gone by my orders with one of his comrades to the place where theſe ſavages, our friends, made ſome ſmoked ſtag meat that they had killed, to tell them to bring me ſome of it, fell, in chaſing a ſtag, upon the barrel of his gun, and bent it in ſuch a manner that he could not kill anything with it without before having ſtraightened it; which having done, after having arrived at the place where the ſavages were, he wiſhed to make a teſt of it, firing blank at ſome diſtance from their cabin; but whilſt he diſpoſed himſelf to that, one of the ſavages who had promiſſed to the Engliſh his death & mine, who was unknown to ſeveral of his comrades amongſt the others, fired a ſhot at him with his gun, which pierced his ſhoulder with a ball. He cried out directly that they had killed him, & that it was for the men who loved the French to avenge his death; which the ſavages who were our friends having heard, went out of their cabins & followed the culprit without his adherents daring to declare themſelves. But the purſuit was uſeleſs, for he ſaved himſelf in the wood after having thrown away his gun & taken in its place his bow & his quiver. This behaviour ſurpriſed our allies, the ſavages, exceedingly, & obliged them to ſwear, in their manner, vengeance for it, as much againſt that ſavage nation as againſt the Engliſh; but not having enough guns for that enterpriſe, they reſolved to wait until my father and uncle had arrived. In the mean time they ſent to entreat all the nations who had ſworn friendſhip to my father & my uncle to come to make war upon the Engliſh & the ſavages on the ſouthern coaſt, repreſenting to them that they were obliged to take our ſide becauſe that they had at other times accepted our preſents in token of peace & of goodwill; that as to the reſt, we were always men of courage, & their brothers.

"As ſoon as theſe other nations had received intelligence of the condition in which we were, they reſolved to aſſiſt us with all their forces, & in waiting the return of my father or my uncle to ſend hoſtages for it to give a token of their courage, in the perſons of two of their young men. One of the moſt conſiderable chiefs among theſe nations was deputed to conduct them. I received them as I ought. This chief was the adopted father of my uncle, & one of the beſt friends of the French, whom I found adapted to ſerve me to procure an interview with the Engliſh, to the end of knowing what could poſſibly be their reſolution. For that purpoſe I deputed this chief ſavage towards the Engliſh, to perſuade them to allow that I ſhould viſit them & take their word that they would not make me any inſult, neither whilſt with them nor along the route there, for which this chief ſtood ſecurity. The Engliſh accepted the propoſition. I made them a viſit with one of the French who carried the preſent that I had ſent to make them, in the manner of the ſavages, & who received it on their part for me according to cuſtom. We traded nothing in that interview regarding our buſineſs, becauſe I remembered that the Engliſh attributed directly that which had been done againſt them to the ſavages. All the advantage that I received in that ſtep was of making a trade for the ſavages, my friends, of guns which I wanted; although they coſt me dear by the gratuity which I was obliged to make to thoſe who I employed there; but it was important that I had in fact hindered the ſavages from it who came down from the country to trade, of paſſing on as far as the Engliſh. The end of that invitation and that viſit, was that I promiſſed to the ſolicitation of the Governor of the Engliſh of viſiting there once again with my chief; after which we retired to our houſe, where I was informed by ſome diſcontented ſavages not to go any more to ſee the Engliſh, becauſe that they had reſolved either to arreſt me priſoner or of killing me. Which my chief having alſo learned, he told me that he wiſhed no more to be ſecurity with his word with a nation who had none of it; which obliged us to remain at home, keeping up a very ſtrict guard. At the ſame time the river Hayes having become free, ſeveral detachments of the nations who were our allies arrived to aſſiſt us. The Aſenipoetes[67] alone made more than 400 men. They were the deſcendants of the great Chriſtionaux of the old acquaintance of my uncle, & all ready to make war with the Engliſh; but I did not find it deſirable to intereſt them in it directly nor indirectly, becauſe I did not wiſh to be held on the defenſive in awaiting the return of my father or of my uncle, & that beſides I knew that ſeveral other nations who loved the French, more particularly thoſe who would come to our relief at the leaſt ſignal. In the mean time the chief of the Aſenipoetes did not wiſh us to leave his camp around our houſe, reſolved to await up to the laſt moment the return of my uncle, of whom he always ſpoke, making himſelf break forth with the joy that he would have in ſeeing him by a thouſand poſtures; & he often repeated that he wiſhed to make it appear that he had been worthy of the preſents that the Governor of Canada had made to him formerly in giving tokens of his zeal to ſerve the French.

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[67] *Aſenipoetes*, *Aſſinipoueles*, *Aſſenipoulacs*, and, according to Dr. O'Callaghan, *Aſſiniboins*, or "Sioux of the Rocks."

"The neceſſity for ſtores which ſhould arrive in their camp partly hindered the effects of that praiſeworthy reſolution, & obliged the chief of the Aſenipoetes to ſend back into his country 40 canoes in which he embarked 200 men of the moſt feeble & of the leaſt reſolute. He kept with him a like number of them more robuſt, & thoſe who were able to endure fatigue & hunger, and determined having them to content themſelves with certain ſmall fruits, which commenced to ripen, for their ſubſiſtence, in order to await the new moon, in which the ſpirit of the other ſavages had predicted the arrival of my uncle, which they believed infallible, becauſe their ſuperſtitious cuſtom is of giving faith to all which their Manitou predicts. They remained in that ſtate until the end of the firſt quarter of the moon, during which their oracles had aſſured them that my uncle would arrive; but the time having expired, they believed their

Manitou had deceived them, & it was determined between them to join themſelves with us & of ſeparating in 2 bodys, ſo as to go attack the Engliſh & the ſavages at the South; reſolved in caſe that the enterpriſe had the ſucceſs that they expected, of paſſing the winter with us, to burn the Engliſh ſhips in order to remove the means of defending themſelves in the Spring & of effecting their return. That which contributed much to that deliberation was ſome information which was given to them that the Engliſh had formed a deſign of coming to ſeek the French to attack them, which they wiſhed to prevent.

" Theſe menaces on the part of the Engliſh were capable of producing bad effects, the genius of the ſavages being of never awaiting their enemies, but on the contrary of going to ſeek them. In this deſign the chief of the Aſenipoetes diſpoſed himſelf to march againſt the Engliſh with a party of his people; when 10 or 12 perſons were ſeen on the northern ſide of the Hayes river ſeeking for theſe ſame fruits on which the ſavages had lived for ſome time, he believed that they were the advance guard of the Engliſh & of the ſavages from the South, whom he ſuppoſed united, who came to attack us; which obliged him to make all his men take their bows and arrows, after which he ranged them in order of battle & made this addreſs in our preſence: 'My deſign is to paſs the river with 2 of the moſt courageous among you to go attack the enemy, & of diſpoſing of you in a manner that you may be in a condition of relieving me or of receiving me, whilſt the French will form the corps of reſerve; that our women will load in our canoes all our effects, which they are to throw over in caſe neceſſity requires it. But before undertaking this expedition I wiſh that you make choice of a chief to command you in my abſence or in caſe of my death.' Which having been done at the moment, this brave chief addreſſing us ſaid: 'We camp ourſelves upon the edge of the wood with our guns, ſo as to hinder the approach of the enemy; & then it would be neceſſary to march the men upon the edge of the water, to the end that they ſhould be in a condition to paſs to ſupport or to receive him, according to the neceſſity.'

"After that he paſſes the river with 2 men of the moſt hardihood of his troops, who had greaſed themſelves, like himſelf, from the feet up to the head. Having each only 2 poniards for arms, their deſign was to go right to the chief of the Engliſh, preſent to him a pipe of tobacco as a mark of union, & then, if he refuſed it, endeavour to kill him & make for themſelves a paſſage through his people with their poniards as far as the place where they would be able to paſs the river to be ſupported by their men. But after having marched as far as the place where the perſons were who they had ſeen, they recognized that it was ſome women; to whom having ſpoken, they returned upon their ſteps, & ſaid to us that there was nothing to fear, & that it was a falſe alarm. This general proceeding on their part gave us proofs of their courage & of their amity in a manner that the confidence that we had placed in their help had put us in a condition of fearing nothing on the part of the Engliſh nor of thoſe there of the ſavages of the South; and we were in that ſtate when God, who is the author of all things, & who diſpoſes of them according to his good pleaſure, gave me the grace of my uncle's arrival in this country to arreſt the courſe of the diſorders, who could come & work for our reconciliation. That work ſo much deſired on both ſides is accompliſhed. It depends not upon me that it may not be permanent. Live henceforth like brothers in good union & without jealouſy. As to myſelf, I am reſolved, if the time ſhould arrive, of ſacrificing my life for the glory of the King of Great Britain, for the intereſt of the nation & the advantage of the Hudſon's Bay Company, & of obeying in all things my uncle."

I found this with regard to repeating the recital that my nephew made us concerning what had paſſed between him & the Engliſh & the ſavages, their allies, that although he had appriſed me of the true ſtate in which the 2 parties were at the time of my arrival, yet I alſo ſaw plainly the need that the Engliſh had of being ſuccoured, & the neceſſity that the French had for proviſions, of merchandiſe, and eſpecially of guns, which could not come to them but by my means.

But it is time to reſume the care of our affairs, & to continue to render an account of our conduct. Our people worked always with great application to tranſport the beaver ſkins a half league acroſs the wood, for it was the road that it was neceſſary to make from the houſe as far as the place where the ſhallops were, & they carried them to the little frigate, which diſcharged them upon the ſhips. I was always preſent at the work, for the purpoſe of animating all our men, who gave themſelves in this work no reſt until it was done, & that againſt the experience of the Captains of our ſhips, whom ſome had made believe that the buſineſs would drag at length; but having gone to them I aſſured them that if they were ready to do ſo they could raiſe the anchor to-morrow.

Theſe things thus diſpoſed of, it only diſturbed me yet more to execute a ſecret order that the company had given me, leaving it, however, to my prudence and diſcretion. It was of retaining in its ſervice my nephew and ſome other Frenchmen, & above all the one who ſpoke the ſavage dialect, who was the wounded one, to remain in the country in my abſence, which I dared not promiſe myſelf. In the meantime I reſolved to make the propoſition to my nephew, believing that after gaining him I ſhould be able eaſily to add the others alſo. I cauſed to aſſemble for that end 5 or 6 of the ſavages of the moſt conſideration in the country with the Governor, & in their preſence I ſaid to him, that for the glory of the King & for the advantage of the company it was neceſſary that he ſhould remain in the country. To which he was averſe at firſt; but the Governor having aſſured him that he would truſt him as his own nephew, & that he would divide the authority that he had with him, & myſelf on my part having reproached him that he was not loyal to the oath of allegiance that he had ſworn to me, theſe reaſons obliged him to determine, & he aſſured me that he was ready to do all that I wiſhed of him. What contributed much was the diſcourſe that the ſavages made to him, telling him that I left him amongſt them to receive in my abſence the marks of amity that they had ſworn to me, & that they regarded him as the nephew of the one who had brought peace to the nations & made the union of the Engliſh & French in making by the ſame means the brothers of both.

This laſt ſucceſs in my affairs was proof to me of the authority that I had over the French & the ſavages; for my nephew had no ſooner declared that he ſubmitted himſelf to do what I wiſhed, than all the other Frenchmen offered themſelves to riſk the ennui of remaining in the country, although my deſign was only to leave but two of them; & the ſavages on their part burſt out in cries of joy in ſuch a manner that I no more conſidered after that but to put an end to all things.

All our beaver ſkins having been embarked, I reſolved, after having put everything into tranquil & aſſured ſtate for my return into England, where my preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, to make known to the Company in what manner it was neceſſary to act to profit advantageouſly the ſolid eſtabliſhment that I came to do & the things which were of indiſpenſible neceſſity in the country to facilitate the trade with the ſavages & hindering them from making any of it with foreigners, that is to ſay, with the French of Canada.

I was then for the laſt time with my nephew at the houſe of our Frenchmen, to the end of leaving there ſome Engliſhmen. I found there a number of ſavages arrived to viſit me, who called my nephew & myſelf into one of their cabins, where a venerable old man ſpoke to me in theſe terms: "Porcupine's head, thy heart is good & thou haſt great courage, having made peace with the Engliſh for the love of us. Behold, we have come towards thee, old & young, wives & daughters & little children, to thank thee for it, & to recogniſe thee for our father. We wiſh to be the children & adopt for our ſon thy nephew that thou loveſt ſo much, & in fine to give thee an eternal mark of the obligation that we have to thee. We weep no more henceforth except for the memory of thoſe of whom thou beareſt the name." After which, having told one of the young people to ſpeak, he fell like as if in a ſwoon, & the other ſpoke after that ſame manner: "Men & women, young men & children, even thoſe who are at the breaſt, remember this one here for your father. He is better than the ſun who warms you. You will find always in him a protector who will help you in your needs & conſole you in your afflictions. Men, remember that he gave you guns during the courſe of the year for you to defend yourſelves againſt your Enemies, & to kill the beaſts who nouriſh you & your families. Wives, conſider that he gave you hatchets & knives with which you baniſh hunger from your country; daughters & children, fear nothing more, ſince the one who is your father loves you always, & that he gave you from time to time all that is neceſſary for you to have your ſubſiſtance. We all together weep no more, on the contrary give evidence by cries of our mirth that we have beheld the man of courage;" & at the ſame time they ſet themſelves to cry with all their might, weeping bitterly for the laſt time, in ſaying, "We have loſt our father;[68] we have loſt our children."[69]

After that piteful muſic they all came to be acknowledged. To be acknowledged by our adoption with ſome preſents, & covering us with robes of white beaver ſkins, giving us quantities of beavers' tails, ſome bladders of ſtag's marrow, ſeveral tongues of the ſame animal ſmoked, that which is the moſt exquiſite to eat among them. They alſo preſented us two great copper boilers full of ſmoked & boiled fleſh, of which we ate all together, they, the Engliſh, & ourſelves, & it is what is called a feaſt among theſe nations. After that I ſaid adieu to them, & having given charge in the houſe what ſhould be embarked in the ſhip, I went down to the mouth of the River, where Captain Gazer worked to build a fort in the ſame place where the preceding year Sieur Bridger had made to be conſtructed his ſhallop. It was the moſt advantageous ſituation that he had been able to find, & I adviſed that he ſhould make all the diligence poſſible; but he had ſome men who by their delicacy were incapable of reſponding to his vigilence. I made this obſervation becauſe I hold it for a maxim that one ſhould only employ men robuſt, ſkilful, & capable of ſerving, & that thoſe who are of a complexion feeble, or who flatter themſelves of having protection & favour, ought to be diſmiſſed.

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[68] "But here is one that you adopt for your father." *Note by Radiſſon.*

[69] "Here is the nephew of your father, who will be your ſon; he remains with you & he will have care of his mothers." *Note by Radiſſon.*

Then we paſſed to the place where the ſhips were, becauſe my deſign was to oblige by my preſence the captains to return to their ſhips ready to make ſail; but I was no ſooner arrived there than a ſavage came to inform me that my adopted father, whom I had not ſeen becauſe that he was at the wars, waited for me at the place where Captain Gazer was building the Fort of which I came to ſpeak. That is why I reſolved to go there, & I expreſſed the ſame hope to the ſavage whom I ſent back to give information to my father that the Governor would come with me to make ſome friendſhip to him & protect him in my abſence. It was with the conſent of the Governor & upon his parole that I had told him that; nevertheleſs he did not wiſh to come, & I was for the firſt time found a liar among the ſavages, which is of a dangerous conſequence, for theſe nations have in abomination this vice. He came to me, however, in no wiſe angry in that interview, & I received not even a reproach from him.

When I was at the rendezvous they told me that my adopted father was gone away from it becauſe I had annoyed a ſavage, for he had been informed that I had arrived to ſee him. This ſavage having remembered the obligation to return, although very ſad on account of ſome news that he had learned upon the road, which was that the chief of the nation who inhabited the height above the river Neoſaverne, named "the bearded," & one of his ſons, who were his relations, had been killed in going to inſult thoſe among the ſavages who were ſet to the duty of taking care of the Frenchman who had been wounded by a ſavage gained over by the Engliſh, after that he had embraced me, & that he had informed me of the circumſtance of that affaire, & the number of people he had as followers, I wrote to the Governor to come to me in the place where we were, to make him know in effect that he muſt after my departure prevent the continuation of theſe diſorders in virtue of the treaty of peace & of union that I had made in preſence of the ſavages between the French & the Engliſh.

The Governor having arrived, I preſented to him my adopted father, & ſaid to him that as it was the chief who commanded the nation that inhabited in the place where they built the fort, I had made him ſome little preſents by Captain Gazer, & that it was alſo deſirable that he make ſome to him, becauſe I had promiſſed ſome the preceeding year that I had not given; which the Governor found very bad, & he became irritated even againſt this chief without any cauſe for it, except that it might be becauſe he was my adopted father, & I have learned ſince that he was angry that when I had arrived I had not given any preſent to a ſimple ſavage who ſerved as a ſpy, who was the ſon of that chief called "the bearded." That was a horrible extravagence; for this Governor was inferior to me, & I was not under any obligation to recognize his favor; beſides, I had never made any preſents but to the chiefs of the nations. Moreover, it was not for our Governor to cenſure my conduct. I had received ſome independent orders, which had been given me on account of the outrage that he had committed; but acting for the ſervice of my King and for thoſe of the Company, I paſſed it over in ſilence. I ſaw that it would be imprudent if I ſhould ſpeak my ſentiments openly to a man who after my departure ſhould command all thoſe who remained in the country.[70] I contented myſelf then with letting him know the inconveniences which would happen from the indifference that he affected to have for the chief of the ſavage nations, & I exhorted him alſo to change at once his policy in regard to my adopted father; not by that conſideration, but becauſe that he was, as I ſaid to him, the chief of the nations which inhabited the place where they built the fort, which he promiſſed me of undoing. After that I went on board our ſhip.

My nephew, who remained in the fort with the Governor, having learned that the ſhips were ready to leave, kept himſelf near me with the French whom I had reſolved to leave in Canada, to ſay adieu to me, & it was in the company of this Governor that they made the journey, during which, as I have ſince learned from my nephew, he ſhowed to them more good will than he had yet done, aſſuring them that they ſhould never want anything, & in conſideration of me they would receive the ſame treatment as himſelf. The behaviour that my nephew & the other Frenchmen had ſhown gave no reaſon for doubting the ſincerity of their proteſtations. They no longer believed that any one could have any miſtruſt of them. My nephew & his interpreter had been ſolicited to remain in the country to ſerve the company, & they had conſented to it without a murmur becauſe I had charged myſelf with the care of their intereſts in England. All that paſſed in the preſence and by the perſuaſions of the Governor. . Neverthelefs, behold a ſurpriſing change which came to paſs by the inconſtancy, the caprice, & the wicked behaviour of this ſame Governor.

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[70] "That would have perhaps drawn upon him ſome contempt." *Note by Radiſſon.*

I diſpoſed myſelf to part with the other Frenchmen, when the Governor, having come aboard of the little frigate, cauſed a ſignal to be made to hold a council of war. Upon this the Captains of the ſhips & myſelf rendered ourſelves on board, where my nephew followed us, remaining upon the poop, whilſt the officers & myſelf were in the room where this Governor demanded of us, at firſt, if we had any valid reaſons why he ſhould not ſend back in the ſhips all the Frenchmen who were in the country; to all which the others having ſaid nothing, I was obliged to ſpeak in theſe terms: "At my departure from England I received a verbal order from the company, in particular from Sir James Hayes, to leave in the country where we are as many of the

Frenchmen as I ſhould find deſirable for the good & advantage of the company. I have upon that reſolved to engage my nephew & his interpreter to remain in it, & I have come for that end, by my attendance, for the conſent of the Governor, who demands to-day that they may be ſent back as people who apparently are known to him as ſuſpected. I have always believed, & I believe it ſtill, that their preſence is uſeful in this Country and alſo neceſſary to the Company, and it was difficult to be able to overlook two, becauſe they are known to all the nations. It is alſo upon them that I have relied for the ſecurity of the merchandiſes which are left behind at the houſes of the French, becauſe without their aſſiſtance or their preſence they would be expoſed to pillage. Neverthelеſs I do not pretend to oppoſe my ſelf to the deſign that the Governor has put in execution & the propoſition that he propoſes making. He is free to undo what he pleaſes, but he cannot make me ſubſcribe to his reſolutions, becauſe I ſee that they are directly oppoſed to thoſe of the Company, to my inſtructions, and to my experience. On the contrary, I will proteſt before God and before men againſt all that he does, becauſe, after what he has ſaid to you, he is incapable of doing what is advantageous for his maſters. It is in vain that one ſhould give him good councels, for he has not the ſpirit to underſtand them, that he may again deal a blow to which he would wiſh I oppoſed nothing."

This declaration had without doubt made ſome impreſſion upon a ſpirit not anticipated in an imaginary capacity of governor; but this one here, on the contrary, fortified himſelf in his reſolution, & begged me to tell the French to embark themſelves, without conſidering that my nephew had not time enough to go ſeek his clothes, nor ſeveral bonds that were due to him in Canada, which remained in the houſe of the French, and that I had abandoned to him, to yield whatever I was in a condition of giving ſatisfaction to him, & that in the hope that the Company would ſet up for him the way excluſively.

The Council after that broke up; but the Governor, apprehending that the Frenchmen would not obey, wiſhed to give an order to the Captains to ſeize upon them and put them on board. He had even the inſolence of putting me firſt on the liſts, as if I was ſuſpected or guilty of ſomething, for which Captain Bond having perceived, ſaid to him that he ſhould not make a charge of that kind, as I muſt be excepted from it, becauſe he remembered nothing in me but much of attachment for the ſervice of his maſters, & that they ſhould take care of the eſtabliſhment that we had made, & of the advantages that would accrue to the Company. They obliged the Governor to make another liſt, and thus finiſhed a council of war held againſt the intereſts of thoſe who had given power to aſſemble them. The perſons who had any knowledge of theſe ſavages of the north would be able to judge of the prejudice which the conduct of this imprudent Governor would without contradiction have cauſed the Company. Many would attribute his proceeding to his little experience, or to ſome particular hatred that he had conceived againſt the French. Be it as it may, I was not of his way of thinking; and I believed that his timidity & want of courage had prompted him to do all that he had done, by the apprehenſion that he had of the French undertaking ſomething againſt him; & what confirmed me in that thought was the precaution that he had taken for preventing the French from ſpeaking to any perſon ſince the day of council, for he put them away from the moment that we went away from them. I made out alſo that he had wanted but the occaſion of putting to the ſword my nephew if he had had the leaſt pretext; but knowing his wicked deſigns, I made him underſtand, as well as the other Frenchmen, that we were to go to England, & that he muſt not leave the ſhip, becauſe we were at any moment ready to depart.

Although this change ſurpriſed my nephew & his interpreter, nevertheleſs they appeared not diſcontented with it, eſpecially when I had aſſured them, as well as the other Frenchmen, that they would receive all kinds of good treatment in England, and that it would do them no harm in their perſons nor in their pretenſions. I left them then in the ſhip, and having embarked myſelf in the frigate, we were put aſhore two leagues from the place where they were at anchor, to take on board ſome goods that remained on the ſhore, with more diligence than we had been able to make with the ſhips; which having ſucceeded in happily doing, we went to rejoin the ſhips at the place where they were at anchor, in one of which my nephew and the other Frenchmen were ſtaying during this time without having taken the leaſt ſtep, although they were in a condition for any enterpriſe, becauſe they could eaſily render themſelves maſters of the two ſhips and burn them, having there for both but two men and one boy in each; after which they could alſo, without danger, go on ſhore on the ſouth ſide with the canoes of the ſavages, who were from the north, and then make themſelves maſters of their houſes and their merchandiſe, which were guarded but by two men; but to go there to them, he made doubts of all that I had told him, and that it would be ill intentioned to the ſervice of the company, as it was to the Governor. That is why they were not capable, neither thoſe nor the others, after having ſubmitted themſelves & having taken the oath of fidelity as they had done.

At length, after having ſuffered in my honour and in my probity many things on the part of the Governor,[71] and much fatigue and indiſpoſition of trouble and of care in my perſon, to come to the end of my deſign, having happily ſucceeded, and all that was to be embarked in the ſhips being on board, we made ſail the 4th day of September, 1684, and we arrived at the Downs, without anything paſſing worth mentioning, the 23rd of October of the ſame year.

The impatience that I had of informing the Gentlemen of the Hudſon's Bay Company of the happy ſucceſs of my voyage, and our return, and that I had acquitted myſelf for the ſervice of the King and their own intereſt in all the engagements into which I had entered, obliged me to mount a horſe the ſame day, to preſent myſelf in London, where I arrived at midnight. All which did not hinder me, ſo the Sieur Ecuyer Young was informed, who was one of thoſe intereſted, who having come to me on the morrow morning to take me, did me the honour to preſent me to His Majeſty and to His Royal Highneſs, to whom I rendered an account of all which had been done; and I had the conſolation of receiving ſome marks of the ſatisfaction of theſe great princes, who in token gave order to the Sieur Ecuyer Young to tell the company to have care of my intereſts, & to remember my ſervices.

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[71] "Before Radiſſon's arrival, Capt. John Abraham had been to Port Nelſon with ſupplies of ſtores, & finding Mr Bridgar was gone, he ſtaid himſelf, & was continued Governor by the Company in 1684." *Oldmixon.*

Some days after, I went before the Committee of the Hudſon's Bay Company, to render to it an account of my conduct, hoping to receive their approbation of my proceeding as the firſt fruits of the juſt ſatisfaction & recompence which was my due; but in place of that I found the members of the Committee for the moſt part offended becauſe I had had the honour of making my reverence to the King and to his Royal Highneſs, & theſe ſame perſons continued even their bad intention to injure me, and, under pretext of refuſing me the juſtice which is due to me, they oppoſe themſelves alſo to the ſolid and uſeful reſolutions that are neceſſary for the glory of his Majeſty and the advantage of the Nation and their own Intereſt.

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